Beyond What Is Written

*Erasmus and Beza
as Conjectural Critics
of the New Testament*

JAN KRANS

Beyond What Is Written

New Testament Tools and Studies

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BEZA</div>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Für's Konjekturen-machen hatten viele Philologen vor noch nicht langer Zeit eine so grosse Vorliebe, dass man nicht ohne Grund fragen konnte, warum sie die Texte, die sie zu erklären vorgaben, nicht lieber selbst schrieben—Eberhard Nestle[1]

At the origin of this study lies simple curiosity. Sometimes, in the critical apparatus of a Greek New Testament or in commentaries, one comes across instances in which critics 'go beyond what is written' by proposing a conjecture.[2] Such conjectures can be defined as *readings not attested in the manuscript transmission, which are proposed and argued for by a critic with the intention of restoring a lost text* (usually, in the case of the New Testament, identified as the first publication of the Greek text of a given book). Often the terms 'conjecture' and 'conjectural emendation' are used interchangeably, though one could argue for a slight difference in meaning, according to which the former denotes the wording itself whereas the latter also implies the process of textual correction by means of conjectures.

A simple but striking example of a conjectural emendation is Adolf von Harnack's proposal with respect to Heb 5:7. The text runs as follows: "In the days of his flesh, Jesus offered up prayers and supplications, with loud cries and tears, to him who was able to save him from death, and he was heard (καὶ εἰσακουσθείς) for his godly fear (ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας)" (RSV).[3] Von Harnack, in

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[1] *Einführung* (1899), p. 134. In order not to clutter the notes with redundant information, only short title references are used; the full titles are found in the bibliography. Nestle adds: "ebenso unbegründet aber war und ist die Abneigung, die namentlich auf dem Gebiet der nt.lichen Textkritik bis in die jüngste Zeit gegen sie herrschte, zum Teil noch herrscht."

[2] The title of this study is inspired by the words in 1 Cor 4:6, ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται ("that you may learn by us not to go beyond what is written"—RSV). Interestingly, several critics consider the words τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται themselves to be a scribal accretion to Paul's letter. The history of this conjecture can be traced back to an article by Friedrich August Bornemann ('De memorabili glossemate' (1843), esp. p. 38).

[3] According to von Harnack, ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας means 'aus der Angst weg' ('Korrekturen', p. 247), not 'godly fear' or 'reverent submission' (cf. NRSV).

1929, referring to the Gethsemane scene (Mark 14:32–42; Matt 26:36–46; Luke 22:39–46) and to the context of 'learning obedience through suffering' (verse 8), surmised an error of transmission and considered καὶ οὐκ εἰσακουσθείς ('and he was *not* heard') to be the original text.[4] According to him the transmitted text betrays a dogmatic correction by someone who could not accept the idea that Jesus' own prayer was not heard.

Throughout the centuries critics have made conjectures on the Greek text of the New Testament. The total number of conjectures probably comes to several thousands.[5] Because the study of the text of the New Testament continues, fresh conjectures are still being made. My own interest in conjectural emendation started back in 1990 when I made a short study of the most important conjectures on Matthew's Gospel. The impression gained then was threefold: (1) conjectures have not always been faithfully transmitted; (2) to concentrate on the conjectures that are commonly known means only to scratch the surface; (3) in order to understand and evaluate conjectures one cannot rely on second-hand information; one needs to consult the sources, the editions or commentaries in which the conjectures were first proposed. Especially the third element was eventually elaborated to become the basis of the method adopted in this study.

Until now, conjectural emendations on the Greek text of the New Testament have often suffered from a one-sided approach: they have been treated as a second class of variant readings beside those gathered from manuscripts. Eberhard Nestle, Erwin Nestle and Paul-Wilhelm Schmiedel,[6] for instance, in accordance with their time, treated conjectures in almost complete isolation from

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[4] Von Harnack, 'Korrekturen', esp. p. 249. Von Harnack's conjecture is mentioned in the Nestle editions since N[14] (1930; the first Nestle edition after the conjecture was published). The conjecture was accepted by Rudolf Bultmann (TWNT s.v. εὐλαβής etc.; vol. 2 p. 750 l. 48–p. 751 l. 9). For a critical discussion see Erich Grässer, *Hebräer* 1, p. 304.

[5] Tjitze Baarda has compiled an unpublished list of almost three hundred conjectures on Galatians alone, which he kindly made available to me. Extrapolation on the basis of this list, which according to Baarda is not even complete, produces about fifteen thousand conjectures for the entire New Testament!

[6] Schmiedel played an important role as advisor of Eberhard and Erwin Nestle, especially with regard to the conjectures mentioned in their editions. His exegetical work also betrays a large interest in conjectural emendation (e.g. *Thessalonicher und Korinther*).

their authors. Their interest was limited to the intrinsic value of the proposed conjectures. They thus evaluated them with little or no attention to their origins, that is, to the authors who made them and the reasoning they used to make the conjectures.

The starting point of this study is the idea that a conjecture is more than a coincidental piece of information, "without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life" (Heb 7:3—NRSV). Each conjecture should actually be seen as the product of a critic's interaction with the text and should be understood as such. It could even be said, in the spirit of F.J.A. Hort, that *knowledge of authors should precede judgement of their conjectures*.[7]

With the method adopted here, the present study takes part in the current paradigm shift in New Testament Textual Criticism. Manuscripts are no longer seen as mere sources for variant readings, but also as historical products that deserve to be studied as wholes.[8] Moreover, variant readings as such no longer function as stepping stones towards the 'original' text, to be disposed of once this (chimeric) goal has been attained, but they acquire historical importance as mirrors of scribal convictions and conventions.[9] In line with this new paradigm, it is asked here whether a critic's conjectural emendations mirror particular ideas of the text, its interpretability and its status. Instead of the customary, implicitly diachronic approach as reflected in critical editions and textual commentaries, this question requires an explicitly synchronic approach to conjectural emendation.

The synchronic approach to New Testament conjectural emendation determines to a high degree the method adopted in this study. In order to limit the field to manageable proportions, it was decided to study the work of only two critics, Desiderius Erasmus and Theodorus Beza. The work of these two sixteenth-

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[7] Hort wrote on external evidence: "The first step towards obtaining a sure foundation is a consistent application of the principle that *knowledge of documents should precede final judgement upon readings*" ('Introduction' § 38, p. 31; emphasis original).

[8] Here, David Parker's study of Codex Bezae should be mentioned (*Codex Bezae*), as well as his *Living Text*; cf. also his 'Through a Screen Darkly', esp. pp. 402–405.

[9] Parker, *Living Text*; Bart Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*; 'Text and Tradition 2' (concentrating on the early Church).

century scholars was highly significant for later development of
New Testament textual criticism. They were central to the early
history of the printed Greek New Testament in at least two
respects: First, both acted as editors of the Greek text, though the
degree to which they are accountable for the text of their editions
is not always clear. Second, the editions of both critics were ac-
companied by a large body of annotations, which turns out to be
so rich that not even all conjectures can be discussed in this study.
The basic questions asked are: (1) What kind of conjectures did
these critics make? (2) Which role did conjectural emendation
play in their work on the New Testament? And: (3) Within which
view of the text can their conjectures be understood? As far as
this last question is concerned, a degree of salutary circularity is
inevitable: the conjectures are not only rooted in a particular view
of the text and its possible problems, but can also themselves be
used to detect just this view. As we will see, Erasmus and Beza
provide an instructive contrast in many respects.

The concentration on two sixteenth-century critics has one
notable consequence for the terminology used in this study. In
present-day textual criticism, the term 'emendation' is often used
as denoting only 'conjectural emendation'. In the sixteenth centu-
ry, however, 'emendation' was not necessarily 'conjectural', but
simply meant the correction of a *vulgate text* or of the *editio prin-
ceps*. Critics emended, improved a previous edition with respect
to details. This situation remained during the period of domi-
nance of the *Textus Receptus*.[10] In this period, emendation, the
adoption of alternative readings, was done in two distinct ways,
depending on the way these readings were found: they could
either be derived from manuscripts or be arrived at by rational
argument. Hence a distinction was made between *emendatio codi-
cum ope* ('emendation by means of manuscripts') and *emendatio
ingenii ope* ('emendation by means of reasoning').[11] For the Greek
text of Erasmus' New Testament edition, for instance, the type-

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[10] See for this term Bruce M. Metzger, *Text*, p. 95 (cf. p. 106).
[11] Thus Silvia Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico*, p. 244: "... non si possono distin-
guere nella filologia umanistica *recensio* ed *emendatio*, ma solo due forme di
emendatio, quella *ope codicum* e quella *ope ingenii*" (emphasis original). Cf. pp.
250.253–257.270–272 and Edward John Kenney, *Classical Text*, pp. 25–26.

setters used manuscripts which had been emended by Erasmus for the most part by means of a few other manuscripts.

The newer understanding of 'emendation' is rooted in the relatively recent, nineteenth-century conception of textual criticism which goes by the name of Karl Lachmann.[12] Only in the nineteenth century did critics begin to establish texts independently of previous editions and by not following a single manuscript. This change in method implied a change in terminology. The first step in the text-critical process became the establishment of the earliest attainable text form on the basis of the entire extant manuscript tradition. This establishment, by its nature, could not be called 'emendation'; instead, the term 'recension' came to be used. As a consequence, 'emendation' was henceforth restricted to the second step, the correction of the text arrived at by recension, insofar as this text still contained flaws. Within this method, 'emendation' is by its nature 'conjectural', bearing upon the "*residuum* of passages ... which no longer present the words which the author originally wrote."[13] In the present study, however, the term 'conjectural emendation' is used consistently to reflect the distinction between *emendatio codicum ope* and *emendatio ingenii ope* as current before the nineteenth century. It should finally be noted that most conjectures discussed in this study were never printed as part of a Greek New Testament. They have their *Sitz-im-Leben* in annotations and commentaries. Indeed, a recurrent theme of this study is the tendency of Erasmus and Beza to propose conjectures without actually implementing them.

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[12] See for instance Leighton Durham Reynolds and Nigel Guy Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 209–211.

[13] Frederick William Hall, *Companion*, p. 108 (emphasis added). The word 'residuum' clearly indicates the two-step process of recension and (conjectural) emendation.

PART ONE

ERASMUS

The state of the holy books is really deplorable, if their authority depends on unlearned copyists (as they mostly are) or intoxicated typesetters—Erasmus[14]

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[14] "Misera vero conditio sacrorum voluminum, si horum auctoritas pendet ab indoctis, ut fere sunt, librariis, aut temulentis typographis" (*Capita*, LB VI, p. ***1ʳ; already in 1519, p. 74 no. 50).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION:
ERASMUS AND THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Nor does a skilful master builder, busy with the roof and the fin-
ishing touch, fail to amass stones for the foundation. The one who
does not know this is not a master builder; the one who fails to do it
builds a work that is bound to come down—Erasmus[1]

Part One investigates Erasmus' way of doing New Testament con-
jectural emendation. It will be necessary to take into considera-
tion his knowledge, skills, attitude, and practices as a textual
critic. Erasmus' textual criticism of the Greek New Testament is a
somewhat neglected area, both in studies that focus on Erasmus'
New Testament editions and in treatises on New Testament tex-
tual criticism. While the former tend to focus on dogmatic and
hermeneutical aspects, the latter concentrate only on Erasmus'
Greek text, thereby neglecting the major part of his critical work

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[1] "Nec peritus architectus, circa tectum et colophonem occupatus, negligit in
fundamentum comportare rudera. Haec qui nescit, architectus non est; qui
negligit, opus collapsurum erigit" (*Capita*, LB VI, p. ***2ʳ; these words are first
found in the 1527 edition, p. B 6ʳ). Translations are my own unless stated other-
wise. The Latin text is always given in a footnote. When old editions have been
cited, the citations of Latin texts have been adapted to modern capitalization and
punctuation. Many works by Erasmus are available in translation in the series
Collected Works of Erasmus (see the bibliography); a few corrections to these
translations are inevitable. Erasmus' works are cited according to the common
abbreviations, as well as the abbreviations used in ASD (see the bibliography).
For the *Annotationes*, ASD VI–5, ASD VI–6, ASD VI–8, LB VI and Anne Reeve's
editions (Reeve, 1–3), as well as Erasmus' original editions (1516, 1519, 1522,
1527 and 1535) were used. Reeve's editions represent a facsimile of Erasmus'
fifth edition (1535), conveniently annotated with the information of all earlier
editions. It has however been established that her annotations contain a number
of inaccuracies (see the reviews by Henk Jan de Jonge in *NovT* 29 (1987), pp.
382–383 and *NAKG* 71 (1991), pp. 111–113, and M.L. van Poll–van de
Lisdonk's remarks in ASD VI–8, pp. 12–13). As can be seen from the informa-
tion gathered by de Jonge and van Poll–van de Lisdonk, the inaccuracies mostly
concern single words which are overlooked or which, less frequently, are attri-
buted to the wrong set of editions. For this reason, Erasmus' original editions
were consulted as well. For a short survey of the Greek manuscripts of the New
Testament used by Erasmus, see Appendix I.

and reducing his contribution to being the first representative of the *Textus Receptus*. Moreover, the only question that seems to matter to many scholars is that of the manuscripts he used.

However some exceptions can be mentioned. The more or less systematic description of Erasmus' involvement with the Greek New Testament began in the eighteenth century.[2] One of the earliest special studies is Franz Delitzsch's detailed discussion of Erasmus' treatment of the Greek text of Revelation.[3] More recently, Jerry Bentley devoted various articles[4] and an important chapter of his dissertation to Erasmus' textual criticism.[5] In de Jonge's edition of one of Erasmus' apologies as well, Erasmus' textual criticism is given the attention it deserves.[6] In a similar vein, de Jonge published important articles on various aspects of Erasmus' New Testament editions.[7] Moreover, Erasmus' Greek and Latin texts of the New Testament are finally becoming available in reliable critical editions and properly annotated.[8] The same applies to Erasmus' *Annotationes*.[9] In decades to come the study of Erasmus' involvement with the text of the New Testament will be greatly stimulated and facilitated by these editions.

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[2] Especially Johann Jakob Wettstein should be named here. In his *NTG* (1750–1751) Erasmus' editions are introduced (1, pp. 120–132) and many particularities of both Erasmus' Greek text and the *Annotationes* are recorded in the critical apparatus.

[3] Delitzsch and Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *Handschriftliche Funde*, 1 and 2 (1861 and 1862). See below, pp. 54–58.

[4] 'Erasmus' Annotationes' (1976); 'Biblical Philology' (1976); 'Erasmus and Le Clerc' (1978).

[5] *Humanists* (1983), chapter 4 (pp. 112–193; see also chapter 5, pp. 194–219). Bentley concentrated his studies on the Gospels.

[6] *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2 (1983).

[7] 'Comma' (1980); 'Essence' (1984); 'Character' (1984); 'Date and Purpose' (1984); 'Übersetzung' (1988).

[8] The sixth 'ordo' of Erasmus' *Opera omnia* as published in the Amsterdam edition (ASD) concerns Erasmus' New Testament and the *Annotationes*. As of 2005, the two volumes with Erasmus' New Testament texts that have been published are the ones on John and Acts (ASD VI–2) and on Romans to 1 Thessalonians, both edited by Andrew J. Brown (see also below, p. 62).

[9] The only volumes of the *Annotationes* published thus far are ASD VI–5 (Matt–Luke, edited by Hovingh), VI–6 (John–Acts, edited by Hovingh) and VI–8 (1 Cor–2 Cor, edited by van Poll–van de Lisdonk). The importance of these editions lies in providing, for the first time, a reliable critical text of Erasmus' *Annotationes* as well as essential information on the sources used and referred to by Erasmus. It should be noted that text-critical issues are not the primary subject of their editors' notes.

Erasmus' conjectural criticism of the New Testament as such has never been studied in detail. Even the knowledge of Erasmus' conjectures is rather limited. A number of his conjectures are mentioned in Wettstein's edition and in William Bowyer's collection,[10] and subsequently in the monographs of the Dutch School.[11] Only one conjecture made by Erasmus, the one on Jas 4:2 (see below, p. 126), is mentioned in the Nestle editions.

The arrangement of Part One is as follows. First, 'the stage will be set' by outlining Erasmus' involvement with the Greek New Testament (this chapter). Erasmus' text-critical method and approach will be treated separately (chapter two). An important question, also to be dealt with separately, is whether conjectural emendation as such can be observed in Erasmus' editorial practice as exemplified in his retranslation from the Vulgate of the final verses of Revelation, or in some of the corrections he made in the manuscripts that served as printers' copy (chapter three). A key element in the understanding of Erasmus' conjectural emendation are the many instances in which he inferred Greek readings on the basis of the Latin (chapter four). Not surprisingly, the longest chapter is a discussion of the many conjectures on the text of the New Testament that can be found in Erasmus' work (chapter five). I have two goals in presenting these conjectures. First, I want to classify and understand them as such. Second, I want to place them within Erasmus' conception of the text of the New Testament and his approach to textual criticism. For Erasmus' view of conjectural emendation it is also important to consider his opinion on conjectures made by other critics, patristic or contemporary, and to take into consideration the reception history of his *Annotationes* (chapter six).

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[10] Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures* (1772 (and in 1763 as part of his *Novum Testamentum Graecum*); 1782; 1812). On Bowyer's Greek New Testament and his collection of conjectures, see Metzger, 'Bowyer's Contribution'.

[11] In the Dutch School, active mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century, conjectural criticism of the New Testament was practised and discussed by a large number of scholars in the Netherlands (cf. Metzger, *Text*. p. 184; to the names mentioned by Metzger those of Samuel Adrianus Naber and Jan Hendrik Holwerda could be added); its culmination were the monographs by Willem Christaan van Manen (*Conjecturaal-kritiek*) and Willem Hendrik van de Sande Bakhuyzen (*Over de toepassing*), as well as Johannes Baljon's *NTG*. A historical study of the Dutch School along the lines of the method applied in the present study is a *desideratum* of New Testament research.

1.1 EDITIONS AND CONTROVERSY

Erasmus' Greek and Latin New Testament, accompanied by copious annotations, first appeared as *Novum Instrumentum* in 1516. It contained the first printed text of the entire Greek New Testament. In subsequent editions, under the more common name *Novum Testamentum*, improvements were made, notes were added and critics were answered.[12]

Erasmus' editions of the New Testament provoked much controversy, especially because of his Latin translation. Even before the publication of his *Novum Instrumentum* in 1516, he was engaged in polemics and self-defence.[13] These would occupy his attention for much of the rest of his life. In separate apologies, in his letters,[14] as well as in every new edition of his *Novum Testamentum*, he tried to disparage his opponents, to control the damage that had been done, to escape the dangers that might befall him, and to win the learned and less learned for his views. He defended both his method and its results. As he was often forced to take a fresh look at text-critical and exegetical issues, discussions thereof tended to find their way into the *Annotationes* that accompanied a subsequent edition of the *Novum Testamentum*.[15]

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[12] The five major editions under Erasmus' editorial responsibility appeared in 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527 and 1535. For a general description of Erasmus' editions, see for instance Frederick Scrivener, *Introduction*, 2, pp. 182–187.

[13] EE 337 (the well-known letter to Martin Dorp, from Antwerp, 1515).

[14] Erasmus often had his private letters published, and he even wrote some of them in order to have his views promulgated. He was a master in networking and image-building, an aspect explored extensively by Lisa Jardine (*Erasmus*).

[15] This aspect has been thoroughly investigated by Erika Rummel ('Nameless critics', *Annotations*, and *Critics*). An earlier treatment is August Bludau, *Erasmus-Ausgaben*. See also Hovingh's overview in ASD VI–5, pp. 8–30.

1.2 THE BASIC PROBLEM

It is important to notice the special character of Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum* and *Novum Testamentum*, for his editions are rather different from scholarly editions of the Greek New Testament published nowadays. At first sight, the matter seems simple: Erasmus published a Greek text of the New Testament along with his own Latin translation and accompanied by annotations that clarify difficult places. By one means or another, he established a Greek text, which he made accessible to those who did not have knowledge of Greek by providing a Latin translation in a parallel column.

On closer inspection, things turn out to be more complicated. Erasmus' editions were clearly intended as a counterpoint to the then current text of the Bible, the Latin Vulgate. According to him, the Vulgate needed to be revised. Besides believing that any translation, the Vulgate included, could always be reassessed by collating it with its source, he considered the post-twelfth century form of the Vulgate to be in a deplorable condition compared to its earlier state. Prior to the publication of the first edition, his working method was to make a careful comparison ('collation') of the Vulgate text with the Greek text he found in manuscripts. His editions thus cannot be properly understood without the Vulgate as the third element besides the Greek text and his own Latin translation. Though his editions, except the fourth (1527), did not contain a Vulgate text, no contemporary reader could fail to notice that Erasmus' enterprise is centred around the correction or 'emendation' of the Vulgate; it is a kind of shadowboxing with it.[16]

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[16] Cf. de Jonge, 'Character', p. 81; de Jonge illustrates this aspect of Erasmus' editions from the 1516 title page, which presents the edition as 'The entire New Testament, carefully revised and corrected by Erasmus of Rotterdam ...' ('Novum Testamentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum et emendatum ...'). Cf. below, p. 21 n. 34, on the way the same title page introduces the *Annotationes*. The denigration of the Vulgate was polemically enhanced in the 1519 edition by the inclusion of seven 'lists of deficiencies' (Brown's term; see ASD VI–2, p. 5), in which Erasmus enumerated above all the most salient defects of the Vulgate. The lists are found in the 1519 *Novum Testamentum*, pp. 83–97 (Gg 6ʳ–Ii 1ʳ); the 1522 *Novum Testamentm*, pp. C 5ʳ–D 6ʳ; the 1527 *Annotationes*, pp. Oo 1ᵛ–Pp 1ʳ; LB VI, pp. *5ʳ–**1ᵛ; Reeve, 3, pp. 9–29. For LB VI Joannes Clericus actually transcribed the lists of the 1522 edition, adding verse references to the entries. In Reeve, 3, M.A. Screech added

Erasmus himself presented the project in the following way:

> ... I have translated the whole New Testament after comparison
> with the Greek copies, and have added the Greek on the facing
> pages, so that anyone may easily compare it. I have appended sepa-
> rate annotations in which, partly by argument and partly by the
> authority of the early Fathers, I show that my emendations are not
> haphazard alterations, for fear that my changes might not carry
> conviction and in the hope of preserving the corrected text from
> further damage.[17]

The 'emendations' mentioned here clearly presuppose the Vulgate
as the text to be emended. The last point in the above citation is
interesting too: it shows that Erasmus assumed a text to be vulne-
rable to corruption when not accompanied by a commentary.
Indeed, as a text-critical rule, he himself mistrusted each reading
in the Fathers, especially those readings which agree with the
Vulgate, when it was not confirmed by the Father's interpretation
of the text as found in his subsequent commentary.[18] Erasmus'
remark also shows that he did not yet perceive the full impact of
the printing press.[19] He regarded his own texts in much the same

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the information of the 1527 edition to Clericus' lists in LB VI (see Reeve, 3, pp.
6–8). From van Poll–van de Lisdonk's critical discussion (ASD VI–8, pp. 33–35)
it appears that especially the references to chapter and verse in LB VI (and subse-
quently in Reeve, 3) are not very reliable. A critical edition of the lists is surely
one of the *desiderata* of Erasmian scholarship.

[17] Ep. 337 ll. 905–911 (translation CWE; EE 337 ll. 862–868: "Nos univer-
sum Testamentum Novum ad Graecorum exemplaria vertimus, additis e regione
Graecis, quo cuivis promptum sit conferre. Adiecimus separatim Annotationes,
in quibus partim argumentis, partim veterum auctoritate theologorum docemus
non temere mutatum quod emendavimus, ne vel fide careat nostra correctio vel
facile depravari possit quod emendatum est"). This letter, and noticeably this
passage, already in its first printed version, does not reflect Erasmus' initial
intention on his way from England to Basle in the summer of 1515, but only the
result of the negotiations with Froben and others in Basle in the autumn of that
same year, that is, the *Novum Instrumentum* with its three major elements: Latin
and Greek text, together with annotations. The letter to Dorp must have been
edited prior to publication; cf. P.S. Allen's introduction to this letter.

[18] Cf. my overview of the text-critical rules that can be detected in Erasmus'
work (pp. 29–52 below).

[19] As can be expected for the period during which Erasmus' New Testament
publications appeared (1515–1535), Erasmus appears as a typical representative
of the time of transition brought about by the invention of running type; cf.
Elizabeth Eisenstein on the standardization and fixity of texts (*Printing Press*, e.g.
pp. 80–82.114–115). According to Eisenstein, fixity and uniformity are con-
comitant with the new printing technology and eventually led to important
cultural and scientific changes. For a somewhat different view, see Johns,

way as, say, Ambrosiaster's commentary,[20] and assumed that they might suffer the same fate of textual 'corruption'. As a consequence, he tried to forestall such 'depravatio'.[21]

The fact that the Vulgate was the point of departure for Erasmus' project implies a basic text-critical problem, which in general Erasmus failed to notice. His comparison was based mostly on Byzantine (or 'majority') readings, but in numerous examples the Vulgate reflects a different Greek text, which often coincides with the modern critical text. According to de Jonge, Erasmus was in fact 'comparing incompatible witnesses'.[22] Indeed, the Vulgate

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Nature, especially pp. 5–6 and 632–633. Johns stresses the fact that "it is not printing per se that possesses preservative power" (p. 5); according to Johns, the textual credibility of printed works, though presupposing the technological possibility of producing identical copies, remains a culturally constructed reality.

[20] For the name 'Ambrosiaster', see van Poll–van de Lisdonk's comments in ASD VI–8, p. 39 n.l. 6.

[21] Erasmus expresses similar thoughts regarding his annotations to Jerome's letters, see Ep. 396 ll. 308–314 (EE 396 ll. 287–293). The thought also recurs in the heading of the *Annotationes*: "And the aim is not only that the reading is corrected, but also that it cannot be easily corrupted in the future" ("Et non solum id agitur, ut castigata sit lectio, sed ne in posterum quoque facile depravari possit"—ASD VI–5, p. 65 ll. 9–10; from 1516 onwards). Cf. also the preface to the *Annotationes*, ASD VI–5, p. 56 ll. 48–49 (=EE 373 ll. 47–49; Ep. 373 ll. 52–54), and the 1519 addition to the annotation 'Altera autem die' on John 1:29 (ASD VI–6, p. 60 ll. 700–702). Interestingly, Erasmus not only 'protects' his (Latin) translation through his annotations, but on at least one occasion he forestalls a future confusion of similar words by choosing another word, intended to be less vulnerable to textual 'corruption'. Thus, in his annotation 'Suspiciens autem Iesus' on Luke 10:30, he exposes the error 'suspiciens' ('looking up') for 'suscipiens' ('answering') (already in 1516), and adds in 1535: "We translated 'respondens' ('answering'), so that the reader may not be induced again to the same error" ("Nos vertimus *respondens*, ne rursus ad eundem lapidem lector impingeret"—ASD VI–5, p. 537 ll. 424–425). Brown suggests that Erasmus perhaps adds 'urbem' ('the town') to 'Attaliam' in Acts 14:25 in order to prevent any future confusion (sc. with 'Italiam'—ASD VI–2, p. 358 note to verse 25), but, as Brown also indicates, Erasmus adds 'urbs' and 'civitas' ('city') on other occasions as well. Cf. Brown's notes on Erasmus' translation at Rom 1:17 ('victurus est'—ASD VI–3, p. 28) and Rom 2:6 ('redditurus est'—ASD VI–3, p. 41). Brown (ASD VI-3 a.h.l.) also suggests that the substitution of 'supplet' for 'implet' in 1 Cor 14:16 aims at preventing the recurrence of the error 'quis supplet' (instead of 'qui supplet') in the Vulgate. The reading 'quis supplet' was mentioned in the list of 'clearly corrupted passages' ('loca manifeste depravata'; see NT 1519, p. 92 (p. Hh 4ᵛ); NT 1522, p. D 5ᵛ; *Annot.* 1527, p. Oo 4ᵛ; LB VI, p. *6ʳ; Reeve 3, p. 20).

[22] 'Essence', p. 397 n. 10; cf. ASD IX–2, p. 20: "From a modern point of view and if allowance is made for the limitations to which the Vulgate was necessarily subject as a translation, one must admit that the Vulgate contained a more reliable text of the New Testament than Erasmus' Greek manuscripts, let

and the Byzantine text represent two different text forms, but this did not dawn on Erasmus for several reasons. First, much in Lorenzo Valla's style, Erasmus compared the Greek and Latin 'witnesses' variant by variant.[23] This remained his method during the rest of his life. Therefore, while he saw many trees, the forest remained hidden from his eyes. Second, in the comparison, the roles were unevenly assigned from the start: the Vulgate was seen as part of the polluted stream, while the exclusively Greek manuscripts to which Erasmus had access represented the pristine source. Third, Erasmus never showed any interest in *recensio*, the evaluation and classification of manuscripts and families of manuscripts. In his time, the beginnings of such an approach existed, as the work of Angelo Poliziano or Beatus Rhenanus indicates,[24] but Erasmus steered clear of it. Finally, the idea that the Vulgate might go back to a Greek original which in many respects repre-

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alone his new Latin translation."

[23] As his contemporaries already pointed out, Valla's work on the New Testament provided the model which Erasmus applied in his annotations, while he followed in the footsteps of Jerome as a corrector of the Latin translation. On Jerome as Erasmus' model, see e.g. Jardine, *Erasmus*, pp. 55–82. Valla's annotations are mentioned as Erasmus' paradigm by Beatus Rhenanus in the preface to the 1540 Basle edition of Erasmus' *Omnia opera* (EE I, p. 64 ll. 280–281). Alluding to Aesop's fable of the vain jackdaw and the peacock, Jacobus Lopis Stunica, one of Erasmus' fiercest opponents, accused Erasmus of putting Valla's commentary on the market under his own name (see *Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.*, LB IX, c. 391 E; the idea of using Aesop's imagery was probably inspired by Erasmus' own words in the Preface of the *Annotationes*; see ASD VI–5, p. 56 ll. 67–69). The accusation, unjust as it may be, shows that the connection between Valla and Erasmus was noted by Stunica. For a discussion of the relationship between Erasmus' project and Valla's, see Rummel, *Annotations*, pp. 13–15 (cf. her *Erasmus*, pp. 73–76 and Charles Trinkaus in Bietenholz, *Contemporaries* 3, p. 373). Erasmus was more indebted to Valla's method than Rummel seems to acknowledge, but compared to Erasmus' work, Valla's efforts were merely exploratory (cf. van Poll–van de Lisdonk in ASD VI–8, pp. 25–26). Moreover, Erasmus went far beyond Valla with respect to text-critical issues.

[24] On Poliziano, see Sebastiano Timpanaro, *Entstehung*, pp. 2–6; Anthony Grafton, *Defenders*, pp. 47–75, esp. pp. 56–59; on Rhenanus, see John F. D'Amico, *Rhenanus*. On only few occasions does Erasmus refer to an 'archetype', but even then not necessarily in the sense of the (hypothetical) starting point of the extant manuscripts. In the *Adagia* Erasmus appeals to an error in an archetype in order to defend a conjecture, the word θήρας instead of θύρας in the adage τίς ἂν θύρας ἁμάρτοι (Aristotle, *Metaph.* 993b.5; see *Adagia*, 536—ASD II–2, pp. 62–64 ll. 871–889; CWE 32, pp. 27–28; Timpanaro points out that this conjecture (θήρας) is unnecessary (*Entstehung*, p. 6 n. 19); cf. Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico*, pp. 315–316). In another text in which Erasmus uses the word 'archetypus', he does so in order to demonstrate that the original text is lost (*Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*, LB IX, c. 773 A).

sents a text superior to the common Byzantine Greek manuscripts would have been simply too mind-boggling in this period.[25] The entire project would have been endangered, and there would have been no possibility left for Erasmus to answer his critics who were in many cases fierce defenders of the Vulgate.

An example that takes up many aspects of this discussion is Erasmus' treatment of the 𝔐 reading in Rom 11:6, εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων οὐκέτι ἐστὶ χάρις, ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἔργον. In 1516, he simply notes that these words 'are lacking in our [Latin] codices'.[26] In the second edition, he adds a critical discussion and concludes that he inclines to accept the Vulgate reading, both on the basis of patristic 'evidence' (Origen) and because of the internal consideration that the added reading digresses from the point of verses 5–6, namely the centrality of grace. In spite of this clear preference for the shorter reading, his Greek text still contains the addition, faithfully reflected in his Latin translation.[27]

The reaction on this annotation by one of his critics, Titelmans, forces Erasmus to pronounce himself on the relative quality of the Greek and the Latin texts; he writes:

> ... with me, who defends the translator [the Vulgate], he wants a quarrel, reproaching me that I do not prefer the Latin reading to the Greek one in many places as I do here. However, this is what I would have done, and what I do as often as it seems probable. He adds that the Greek is to be corrected from the Latin rather than the Latin from the Greek. If he had said both from both it would have been acceptable. But he wanted me to cut out from the Greek that which I consider to be superfluous; this task I had not as-

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[25] My impression, however, is that Erasmus did indeed become gradually aware of this basic text-critical problem, and that he tried to remedy its consequences in his annotations. An indication may be that he appealed less frequently to the *Graeca veritas* ('the Greek truth', i.e. the Greek as the normative source text) and increasingly downplayed his Latin translation as merely rendering the Greek and not correcting it.

[26] 'desunt in nostris codicibus' (in the annotation 'Alioqui gratia iam non est gratia' on Rom 11:6).

[27] "sin ex operibus, non iam est gratia, quandoquidem opus iam non est opus." This is the 1516 translation. In the 1527 edition, 'non iam' was changed into 'iam non', probably by oversight, for the preceding (parallel) phrases run "quod si per gratiam, non iam ex operibus. Quandoquidem gratia, iam non est gratia."

sumed, namely to correct the Greek books, unless a place had an obvious error made by the copyists.[28]

In sum, it is clear from Erasmus' published Greek and Latin texts that he failed to observe the fundamental divergence between the Greek text underlying the Vulgate and the Byzantine text family. The accompanying annotations, however, show that much more can be said about Erasmus' text-critical approach.

1.3 ERASMUS' OPINION ON THE GREEK TEXT

In many instances Erasmus' annotations show that he perceived text-critical problems in individual texts. Whether or not he was subconsciously aware of the basic divergence that lies behind these problems, he approached them far more objectively than the above description of his motivation may suggest. He could also scold others for their naive trust in any Greek manuscript they may come across.[29]

Moreover, there are clear indications that Erasmus increasingly tried to relativise the Greek text of his editions:

First of all, to translate something differently is not necessarily a criticism of an earlier standard version; one might as well complain

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[28] "... mecum, qui tueor interpretem, quaerit rixam, obiurgans quod quemadmodum Latinam lectionem praefero Graecae, non itidem faciam in multis locis. Atqui id facturus eram, et facio quoties videtur probabile. Addit Graeca e Latinis castiganda potius quam Latina e Graecis. Si dixisset, utraque ex utrisque, tolerabile erat. Quod autem me voluit resecare a Graecis quae iudico superesse, non hanc mihi provinciam sumseram, ut Graecorum libros emendarem, nisi quis locus haberet manifestum mendum a librariis commissum" (*Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, c. 1006 E–F).

[29] Erasmus writes for instance against Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Jacobus Faber Stapulensis) that it is naive to act "as though Greek manuscripts do not sometimes vary, or are never corrupt" ("quasi vero non alicubi varient Graeci codices aut nusquam depravati sint"—*Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ASD IX–3, p. 192 ll. 2568–2569; translation CWE 83, p. 105). The example of textual 'corruption' Erasmus gives is indeed striking: the reading δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς, ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὕρηται ("δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς, it is found thus in many of the copies") which he found in the Codex Corsendoncensis (min. 3; see ASD IX–3, pp. 192.194 ll. 2569–2577 and the 1519 addition to Erasmus' annotation on 2 Cor 8:5 'Et non sicut speravimus'—ASD VI–8, p. 408 ll. 360–367). The same reading is given as an example of a scribal error of judgement by Metzger, *Text*, p. 194, who refers to Johann Albrecht Bengel. Through Bengel's *NTG* (p. 682), Metzger's information is in fact derived from Erasmus, for Bengel explicitly refers to Erasmus.

of orthodox commentators who introduce a different reading into a text. This is something they frequently do, commenting on both readings without characterizing one as inferior. Secondly, I had undertaken in the work in question to translate the Greek manuscripts, not to correct them, and in fact in not a few places I prefer the Latin translation to the reading in the Greek. It would have been an impertinence on my part, however, to put myself forward as a translator and then to translate something other than the Greek manuscript had, especially when there was agreement among the manuscripts. It would have been more impertinent still if I had done this, since I placed the Greek side by side with the Latin. This would immediately have shown me up, even if my translation of the Greek had not done so.[30]

This passage can be interpreted in two different ways, which are both essentially correct. According to the first, it shows the line of self-defence Erasmus consistently maintained against his critics, possible and real: his aim was not to replace or even criticise the Vulgate, but to allow the learned to understand it even better. According to the second, what is printed as the Greek text does not necessarily reflect Erasmus' opinion on the correct reading. Consequently, his Latin translation must be seen with the same provisos.[31] Remarks such as these show that Erasmus gradually

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[30] EE 1680 (letter to Francesco Cigalini, from Basle, 15 March 1526) ll. 7–17 ("Primum non statim superioris receptaeque translationis reprehensio est, si quid aliter a nobis vertitur, non profecto magis quam quum interpretes orthodoxi diversam adferunt lectionem: quod quidem faciunt non raro, exponentes utranque, neutram re improbantes. Deinde susceperam illic vertendos Graecos codices, non castigandos; nec paucis in locis praefero Latinorum translationem Grecae lectioni. Fuissem autem impudens, si professus interpretem, aliud vertissem quam haberet codex Graecus, praesertim exemplariis consentientibus. Multo vero impudentior, si id fecissem, quum e regione Graeca posuerim; quae me statim coarguerent, etiamsi Graecorum interpretatio non coargueret"). Translation Ep. 1680 ll. 9–21, with two small corrections ('since I placed' instead of 'while placing' and 'translation of the Greek' instead of 'interpretation of the Greek'). Cf. the remark Erasmus makes in the annotation on 1 Cor 4:2 ('Hic iam quaeritur'): "We translate what we find in the Greek manuscripts, in order that the Latin should not differ from the Greek" ("Nos quod in Graecis codicibus reperimus, vertimus, ne Latina discreparent a Graecis"; from 1519 onwards—ASD VI–8, p. 80 ll. 680–681). Similarly in the annotation on 1 Cor 15:47 ('Secundus homo de coelo, coelestis'), Erasmus states that he translates the reading ὁ κύριος although he considers it to be clearly secondary (ASD VI–8, p. 300 ll. 615–617).

[31] Bentley also notices this, e.g. in his remark that Erasmus does not print οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός in Matt 24:36 'presumably for lack of strong manuscript support' ('Erasmus' Annotationes', p. 49 n. 57) although he regarded it to be genuine. Bentley, however, does not indicate the general character of Erasmus' reserva-

became more aware of the text-critical problems that surround the Greek text he knew.

Erasmus often insisted on both points, the subservient place of his translation vis-à-vis the ecclesiastical text, and his unwillingness to print a Greek text that differs from the manuscripts.[32] Indeed, on most occasions he did not bother changing the Greek text of his editions, even when he had an outspoken preference for other readings, as he states explicitly in his apology-like letter to Robert Aldridge:

> ... for I left the Vulgate intact, and took up to translate faithfully what the Greek read in the New Testament, *whether they read correctly or incorrectly*.[33]

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tions regarding the Greek text.

[32] E.g. *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 332 l. 442 (on the *Johannine Comma*): "I only offer what I find in the Greek manuscripts" ("Nos tantum hoc dedimus, quod apud Graecos reperimus"). Cf. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 252 ll. 449–450 (again on the *Johannine Comma*): "Besides, we had not taken up the task of correcting the Greek manuscripts, but of rendering faithfully what would be in them" ("Porro nos non susceperamus negotium emendandi Grecos codices, sed quod in illis esset bona fide reddendi"). Cf. also *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 188 ll. 433–435 (on the spuriousness of the reading 'interpretationes sermonum' in 1 Cor 12:28): "But I have fulfilled my duty: I have indicated what is less in Greek and I have added my suspicion without insulting anybody. I had not taken the task to add on my own account what is lacking in Greek" ("Verum ego meo sum officio functus, indicavi quod apud Graecos minus est et adieci meam suspitionem citra cuiusquam iniuriam. Addendi de meo quae Graecis desunt provinciam non susceperam"). Interesting too is *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 80 ll. 415–420: Stunica wants Erasmus to put his (Latin) explanation of ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος (Matt 1:11) in his translation instead of the annotations, but Erasmus insists (1) on the complementarity of text and annotations and (2) on the freedom of the reader *to construe his own text* by choosing from the readings mentioned in the annotations.

[33] "... quum, intacta vulgata lectione, bona fide vertendum susceperim quod in Novo Testamento legunt Graeci, *sive recte legant sive non recte*" (EE 1858 (from 1527) ll. 158–160; emphasis added; cf. ll. 24–27). Cf. e.g. *Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*, LB IX, c. 768 B–C: "... what could he [Sutor] reproach me for, as I undertook to translate the Greek manuscripts? I could have been accused, if I had translated something else than they had. Moreover, if my version were to take the place of the Vulgate, it would perhaps have been necessary to diverge as little as possible from the received edition. But ours is something like an explanation of the old one; therefore, the greater the contrast in wording, the more the reader learns." ("... quid mihi potest imputari, qui Graecos codices vertendos susceperam? Accusandus eram, si aliud vertissem quam habebant. Ad haec si mea versio successura fuisset in locum vulgatae, fortasis expediebat quam minimum discedere a verbis receptae editionis. Caeterum quoniam haec nostra veteris velut explanatio quaedam est, quo maior est in verbis dissonantia, hoc plus discit lector.") Yet another example of Erasmus distancing himself from

Thus, when the printed texts become less important, the annotations gain correspondingly more weight, for they often contain Erasmus' true opinion on the text. Indeed, Erasmus insisted on the annotations as an essential part of his editions:

> Those who read my translation without the annotations are mistaken too. In a translation, you can only express one meaning, in annotations you can point out several, from which the reader can freely choose the one he would want to follow. There I put forward the meaning of which I think that it concurs best with the apostolic sense.[34]

In two ways, the annotations are pivotal to the project, even more than the Latin translation or the Greek text. In the first place, they are its origin. Erasmus' critical involvement with the text of the New Testament received a decisive impulse from Valla's *Annotationes*, which Erasmus discovered and published with a preface letter from his own hand. More than a decade before the publication of the *Novum Testamentum*, Erasmus became acquainted with Valla's method, which—to put it simply—involved the comparison of the Latin Vulgate with the Greek text and resulted in a series of annotations which mainly point out what is

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the Greek text can be found in the 1522 additions to the annotation 'Omnes quidem resurgemus' on 1 Cor 15:51 (ASD VI–8, p. 310 ll. 808–809). Writing about "Erasmus's ... ploy that he had been acting as a translator, not a dogmatist, and thus edited as the manuscripts dictated" ('Erasmus as Hero or Heretic', p. 111), Lu Ann Homza is correct in regarding Erasmus' remarks as a line of defence against the accusations that he was responsable for a heretical version of the New Testament, but this line of defence is actually more than a 'ploy', for it was based on the correct text-critical notion that neither Greek nor Latin manuscripts could be trusted.

[34] EE 2807 (11 May 1533, probably to Stephen Loret) ll. 38–42: "Errant et illi qui meam versionem legunt absque annotationibus. In translatione non licet nisi unicam sententiam exprimere, in annotationibus licet referre diversas, e quibus liberum est lectori quem [sic] velit sequi. Illic eam propono quae mihi videtur maxime congruere sensui apostolico." The title page of his editions, already in 1516, confirms this aspect: the edition is descibed as "together with annotations, which can explain to the reader what has been changed and for which reason. Therefore, whoever you are, if you esteem the true theology, read, understand, and then only judge" ("una cum Annotationibus, quae lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. Quisquis igitur amas veram theologiam, lege, cognosce, ac deinde iudica"). See also the preface to the *Annotationes*, ASD VI–5, p. 56 ll. 41–48 and EE 1010, a warning preface to an edition of Erasmus' texts without the annotations (esp. ll. 1–3 and 16–17) (also mentioned in *Apolog. resp. inuect. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX-4, p. 48 ll. 709-713 and p. 52 ll. 795-798).

wrong in the former, with numerous indications for a better translation of the latter.[35] By publishing annotations, Erasmus suggested that he was to be seen as walking in Valla's footsteps.

In my reading of the evidence, Erasmus had been making annotations for several years prior to the establishment of a Latin translation and also prior to his adoption of a Greek text.[36] The Greek text he used was taken from some manuscripts that were at hand in Basle and these Erasmus hardly corrected. The Latin translation on the other hand can be described as the result of the many annotations he had made on the Vulgate over the years, and can just as well have been produced during Erasmus' stay in Basle.[37]

In the second place, the annotations were to remain the part of Erasmus' New Testament in which he pronounced himself freely, both on text-critical and translational issues and on a vast array of other subjects. They underwent several important revisions, whereas much less attention was devoted to the printed Greek and Latin texts. Only in the annotations do we find proof of Erasmus' growing criticism vis-à-vis a large number of Greek readings that he nevertheless retained in his text.

Therefore, we will have to take a closer look at the text-critical aspects of Erasmus' annotations, their role, their nature and their diverse forms.

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[35] Typically introduced by formulas such as '(ego) transtulissem' ('I would have translated').

[36] Erasmus is essentially correct when he writes that the decision to print a Latin translation beside the annotations and the Greek text was taken only in Basle (for the sources, see Brown, 'Date', pp. 372–374). Before 1515, Erasmus' work on the New Testament simply consisted of making annotations on the (text of the) New Testament, both in the margin of a (printed) copy of the Vulgate and on separate sheets. For a similar view, see now Brown (ASD VI–2, pp. 1–2). Contra: de Jonge, 'Date and Purpose' and 'Übersetzung'.

[37] Erasmus' translation has justly been described as no more than a revision of the Vulgate. Moreover, in important parts of the first edition, the Vulgate text was hardly changed. Erasmus himself acknowledged this: "... several times I did not collate entire pages, not being slow out of carelessness but buried by waves of work" ("... aliquoties totas paginas ne contulerim quidem, non tam incuria segnis quam obrutus undis laborum"—*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 112 ll. 82–83; indicated by Marcel Bataillon, *Erasme et l'Espagne*, pp. 101–102). This unevenness suggests that Erasmus' Latin translation was hastily and incompletely produced during his stay in Basle, not before. Only from Erasmus' second edition on can it be said that he actually offers his own translation, though it remains of course linked to the Vulgate in many ways.

1.4 ANNOTATIONS

A good starting point for describing the annotations are Erasmus' own words in which he sets forth his task as an editor of the New Testament:

> The man who makes such advances does not follow any manuscripts which happen to come into his hands, nor does he stick to one only. He makes a selection. Nor does he rely only on the comparison of his manuscript authorities: he carries out careful research among the Greek and Latin commentators to find how a passage has been read by the most reputable authorities, how they have explained it, what measure of agreement there is between them. And even then he does not deny anyone's right to his own view unless the error is so obvious that it would be shameful to turn his back on it. Origen never dared to 'correct' the New Testament, nor did I erase a single letter in the accepted copies. He suggested and shared his conjectures. I not only brought forward conjectures, but strenghtened the matter with the most trustworthy authorities. But this is a matter which I shall discuss at greater length and at a more appropriate moment.[38]

This passage illustrates the 'eclectic' method Erasmus adopted, in line with his opinion that the 'true reading' can be found only through a combination of various sources. Indeed, in the annotations, he refers time and again to both Greek and Latin manuscripts, as well as to patristic evidence.[39] We also see that Erasmus felt the need to present his endeavour as basically 'conservative'.

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[38] *Apolog. c. Iac. Latomi dialog.*, LB IX, c. 88 B–C: "Nec enim quisquis hoc agit, quaelibet sequitur exemplaria, nec uni fidit codici, sed in his habito delectu, non tantum fidit collationi codicum, sed circumspicit quid apud Graecos ac Latinos probatissimus quisque interpres legerit, quid interpretetur, et quomodo inter se consentiant; et tamen ne sic quidem adimit cuiquam iudicandi ius, nisi tam manifestus sit error, ut impudentissimum sit tergiversari. Non ausus est Novum Testamentum Origenes emendare, neque nos in vulgatis exemplaribus vel apicem ullum erasimus. Ille suas coniecturas attulit in medium, nos praeter coniecturas tot probatissimis auctoribus rem fulcimus. Verum haec alias a nobis ut tempestivius, ita copiosius dicentur" (translation after CWE 71, p. 52). Apparently, this 'more appropriate moment' for a fuller discussion never arrived. Cf. *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ASD IX–3, p. 192 ll. 2567–2569 (CWE 83, p. 105), where Erasmus criticises Lefèvre for following a single manuscript uncritically.

[39] It should be noted in passing that the word 'conjectures' ('coniecturae') does not necessarily imply 'conjectural emendation'; in this context, the term denotes all kinds of *conclusions* on text-critical problems. Therefore, the rendering 'conjectures' is perhaps somewhat infelicitous.

Erasmus is convinced of the *Graeca veritas* principle, a convic-
tion which goes back to his discovery and publication of Valla's
Annotationes, and for which he uses Jerome as an authority. This
principle holds that the procedure by which the Vulgate is com-
pared with the Greek is basically valid and useful. The results of
this *collatio*, however, are manifold. They do not necessarily
imply the vindication of the Greek text over the Latin, for all
cases are special.

In 1516, a typical annotation runs as follows:

> Clothes. Better is 'gowns', or 'cloaks'; τὰ ἱμάτια, that is 'upper
> garments'.[40]

This annotation, on Matt 21:7, criticises the translation 'vesti-
menta' ('clothes') chosen in the Vulgate for τὰ ἱμάτια, and indi-
cates an improvement; the Greek is indicated, together with its
literal meaning;[41] at the same time, the Vulgate word 'vestimenta'
serves as lemma and reference. We can easily imagine how such
annotations originated in the margin of Erasmus' printed copy of
the Vulgate, the contested word being underlined and the alterna-
tives ('emendations') jotted besides the text, together with the
Greek words on which these were based. It is indeed very impor-
tant to imagine Erasmus working. Only then can we understand
his aims and method in the light of his means, the limitations in
space and time, and the limited knowledge he had of his sources.

In order to show the nature of Erasmus' text-critical annota-
tions, and the range of problems they address, the flowchart in-
cluded on the following page gives an indication of the choices he
was inevitably confronted with. It is a kind of decision scheme,
which of course simplifies somewhat the thought processes of the
annotator, but which nevertheless provides a useful description
and delimitation of the elements that come into play. Moreover,
it demonstrates the fundamental problems that lie behind the de-
cisions Erasmus had to take. And if Erasmus made an error of
judgement, we can—from our privileged position, of course—

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[40] "Vestimenta. Magis est 'togas' sive 'pallia', τὰ ἱμάτια, id est, 'summas
vestes' " (ASD VI–5, p. 280 ll. 190–191).
[41] Remarkably enough, Erasmus' own translation does not reflect this anno-
tation; the Vulgate's 'vestimenta' is maintained in all editions.

Decision Chart in Erasmus'
Novum Instrumentum (1516)
and *Novum Testamentum*
(1519/1522/1527/1535)

Collate (compare)
– Latin reading (from printed Vulgate edition)
– Greek reading (from manuscript(s))

	procedure
	question
	conclusion
	outcome

1. Difference? — *No* → **No problem**
– No annotation
– Greek: as found
– Latin: acc. to preference

Yes → **'Note–worthy' case**

Evaluate difference

2. Matter of translation? — *No* → ... *Yes* → **Translational problem**

Evaluate translation

3. Translation error?
Yes → **Vulgate incorrect**
– Annot.: criticism of vg
– Greek: as found
– Latin: corrected

No → **Vulgate acceptable**
– Annot.: praise or indulgence
  of vg
– Greek: as found
– Latin: acc. to preference

Text–critical problem

Collect readings
(*emendatio codicum ope*)

4. Variant readings found?
Latin → **'Corruption' within Vulgate transmission**
– Annot.: expose vg 'corruption'
– Greek: as found
– Latin: emended

Greek → **'Corruption' within Greek transmission**
– Annot.: point out var. reading
– Greek: often unaltered
– Latin: reflecting the Greek

No → **No demonstrated 'corruption'**

Reflect on text
(*emendatio ingenii ope*)

5. Some error?
In the Greek → **Latin based on different Greek**

Retranslate Latin into Greek
– Annot.: Greek reading (*cj*)
– Greek: as found
– Latin: reflecting the Greek

No → **'Corruption' within Greek transmission**

Reflect on cause
– Annot.: indicate cause
  (event. Greek reading (*cj*))
– Greek: unaltered
– Latin: reflecting the Greek

In the Latin → **'Corruption' within Vulgate transmission**

Reflect on cause
– Annot.: indicate cause
  (event. Latin reading (*cj*))
– Greek: as found
– Latin: reflecting the Greek

easily determine 'what went wrong' by using the flowchart's basic questions.

As indicated, the flowchart describes the process of thought involved in the collation of the Vulgate as Erasmus knows it and the Greek manuscripts he consults. There are four decisions to be made or questions to be answered once a note-worthy difference is encountered (no. 1 in the chart):

– the nature of the difference: is it translational or text-critical? (no. 2);
– if it is translational: is the freedom of translation acceptable or not? (no. 3);
– if it is text-critical: are there variant readings, that is, can 'corruption' be demonstrated? (no. 4)
– if not, where lies the problem or the error? (no. 5)

At the basis of Erasmus' text-critical work on the New Testament, then, lies his discovery of Valla's method, that is, to treat the Vulgate as (merely) a translation and to perform a comparison of it with its presumed original Greek text. This in itself was still revolutionary, though it was 'in the air'.[42]

In the execution of this task, Erasmus went far beyond Valla or any of his contemporaries. After comparison with the Greek, he regularly pronounced a positive or negative judgement on the translation.[43] For instance, in his annotation to Phil 2:28, he writes: "however, I am not displeased with the translator's [the Vulgate's] rendering."[44] He even used expressions such as 'the translator correctly changed ...'[45]

But how could he draw the line between translational freedom and text-critical differences? The only way to do so is through the critic's intuition. He could not be sure about a translation error if textual 'corruption' within the Vulgate tradition could not be excluded. Erasmus' choices are usually correct, but he often simply

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[42] Though Erasmus repeatedly tried to show that he still accepts the Vulgate as the church's sacred text, he not surprisingly failed to convince his opponents.

[43] On Erasmus' latinity, see Rummel, *Translator*, and especially 'Plain Latin' (on 1 Cor only).

[44] "... mihi tamen non displicet quod vertit interpres" (the 1519 addition to the annotation 'Festinantius' on Phil 2:28). Erasmus' own translation, in all editions, is 'studiosis'.

[45] 'recte mutavit interpres', e.g. in the annotation on 1 Cor 7:14, 'Per mulierem fidelem, per virum fidelem', on the rendering of ἐν by 'per' instead of 'in' (ASD VI–8, p. 132 l. 568; from 1519 onwards).

lacked sufficient information.[46] Once he sensed that a text-critical difference between the Greek and the Latin was at stake, his problems only started. For where was the 'corruption' to be located, in the Vulgate tradition, the Greek text or both? How did he find the 'true' reading, especially when no variant readings could be found? And even when he knew different readings, how did he evaluate them? Erasmus knew about these problems, and handled them to the best of his ability.[47] Thus, while his revision of the Vulgate may at first seem to be the straightforward evaluation of a perhaps mediocre translation, the actual collation was bound to confront him with a great number of text-critical problems. Some of these demanded a high degree of conjectural thinking in order to be solved. Furthermore, he sometimes dealt with text-critical problems simply because he had for one reason or another become interested in the text.[48]

As the most important conclusion of this chapter, we can name Erasmus' noteworthy involvement with the textual criticism of the Greek New Testament. For us, New Testament textual criticism for the most part means the critical evaluation of variant readings and of text-types in the Greek manuscript tradition. For Erasmus, however, the Greek text did not have his primary interest. He nevertheless became involved in textual criticism of the Greek New Testament, since the manuscripts and the condition of the text forced him to go beyond a simple comparison of

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[46] Cf. Bengel's remark (*NTG*, p. 434): "But because of the paucity of Greek manuscripts, and in particular the lack of those Greek manuscripts in which he would perceive the origin of the Latin readings, it was difficult for him to take a decision." ("Sed propter Graecorum codicum paucitatem, et penuriam speciatim eorum Graecorum codicum, unde Latinarum lectionum originem perspiceret, difficile ei fuit decidere.")

[47] In his annotation 'Beatae steriles, et ventres quae' on Luke 23:29, Erasmus points out a serious error in the Vulgate, for the masculine 'ventres' requires the relative pronoun 'qui'. He concludes: "Apparently the translator was dreaming" ("Apparet hallucinatum interpretem"; from 1516 onwards—ASD VI-5, p. 598 l. 50). On Stunica's remark (in his *Assertio*) that better Vulgate manuscripts have 'qui', Erasmus simply writes: "Here Stunica may have been luckier, having a more emended manuscript" ("Fuerit hic felicior Stunica, qui codicem habuerit emendatiorem"—*Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.*, LB IX, c. 396 B). Still, he does not exclude the possibility of scribal correction, for he senses that scribal change can be both emendation and corruption.

[48] Thus, in some cases, Erasmus did not go through the entire flow-chart before asking the question whether the text contains some error; cf. his conjecture on Jas 4:2 (see below, p. 126).

the Vulgate and the Greek text and to form an opinion on text-critical issues. In doing so, Erasmus *nolens volens* became a pioneer in New Testament textual criticism, and, as we will see, even in the conjectural emendation of the Greek text.

ERASMUS' TEXT-CRITICAL METHOD AND APPROACH

> *The* obiter dicta *scattered throughout his prefaces and notes show [Erasmus] to have acquired extensive empirical knowledge of the habits of copyists and to have possessed a critical equipment that must have been, at the very least, well above the average of his day*—Kenney[1]

Only in the eighteenth century did scholars begin to draw up 'canons' of textual criticism.[2] Of course, many ideas, principles and methods were known long before, but they were mentioned casually and not systematically.[3] Practice through intuition or common sense preceded theory. Erasmus' work on the New Testament offers an excellent example: a whole series of rules can be deduced from it, with fairly adequate descriptions of each, but it has to be collected from his discussion of particular texts. The primary importance of this chapter, of course, is to explore the range of scribal change Erasmus was able to imagine even when he did not know alternative readings.

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[1] Kenney, *Classical Text*, p. 50.

[2] The first seems to have been Gerhard von Mastricht, in the *Prolegomena* to his *Novum Testamentum* (1711); cf. Epp, 'Eclectic Method', pp. 144–146.

[3] The first more or less systematic description of textual criticism appeared in 1557: Francesco Robortello, *De arte sive ratione corrigendi antiquorum libros disputatio*. This lecture of fourteen printed pages, however, is not very methodical. Robortello distinguishes the two ways of emendation, namely by means of manuscripts (and printed books!) and through conjecture. He enumerates various categories of conjectures, but these categories are merely formal descriptions, such as addition, omission, transposition, substitution, contraction and division. He also offers useful pieces of advice, for instance to consult the best manuscripts, to inform the readers on the identity of the manuscripts one uses, and in the case of conjecture to stay close to the characters of the reading one is trying to emend. There is however no reflection on—what is now known as—stemmatics or internal criticism as such.

2.1 A CANON OF RULES?

For Erasmus, there was no separate field of textual criticism of
the Greek New Testament. He applied the same reasoning to the
transmission of the Vulgate text, and at times he was not suffi-
ciently informed to distinguish between translational differences
and variant readings due to the copying process. In principle,
Erasmus' textual criticism should not be separated from his edito-
rial work on ancient texts in general.[4] Only in the case of the
New Testament, however, are we so well informed about his
ways of reasoning, primarily through his *Annotationes*.[5] Since
Erasmus did not provide a formal list of text-critical rules, such a
list has to be derived from his annotations, in which several
descriptions of text-critical phenomena in general terms can be
found. This list will also allow for some conclusions on the way
Erasmus worked and conceived of text-critical problems. For con-
venience's sake, the rules are divided according to the two general
categories distinguished by Metzger in the rise of errors in textual
transmission, besides the wear and tear of manuscripts, to wit
unintentional and intentional scribal changes.[6] Both occur regu-
larly in Erasmus' discussions of textual variation.

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[4] On Erasmus' translations of Euripides and Galen, for instance, the editor of
ASD I–1, J.H. Waszink, concludes that Erasmus repeatedly anticipated later
conjectures by Jeremiah Markland, Joannes Jakobus Reiske, Richard Porson,
Josephus Justus Scaliger, Johann Gottfried Jakob Hermann and others. Anticipa-
tion of Markland's conjectures occurs so often that Waszink writes: 'One
wonders whether Markland has made use of Er[asmus]'s translation' (ASD I–1,
p. 279 n.l. 160). Another important source for Erasmian textual criticism are his
editions of Seneca's *Opera*; cf. EE 2091; Douglas F.S. Thomson, 'Erasmus',
pp. 158–160; Letizia Panizza, 'Erasmus' 1515 and 1519 Editions', pp. 320–321.
327–328.

[5] As I have pointed out already, Erasmus' textual criticism on the New Testa-
ment differs from his work on other texts in one important respect: the way the
Vulgate comes into the equation.

[6] See Metzger, *Text*, pp. 186–206. Rizzo indicates that such a distinction can
already be detected in Collucio Salutati's *De fato et fortuna* 2.6 (Rizzo, *Il lessico
filologico*, p. 227; for Salutati's words see her p. 342 ll. 17–23).

2.1.1 *Unintentional changes*

In the preface of the *Annotationes*, Erasmus describes the basic text-critical task as follows:

> ... if I found something damaged by carelessness or ignorance of scribes or by the injuries of time, I restored the true reading, not haphazardly but after pursuing every available scent.[7]

Several types of unintentional scribal changes can be detected in Erasmus' annotations.

a. Erasmus describes *the confusion of similar sounds and similar letters*,[8] for instance the confusion between ἡμᾶς and ὑμᾶς ("in this respect scribal error is very easy"[9]) or between εἰ δέ and ἰδέ ("there is no difference in pronunciation, only in writing"[10]). Even the stock example of confusion between ΛΛ and Μ in Rom 6:5 is anticipated by Erasmus, who writes: "The translator [the Vulgate] seems to have read ἅμα instead of ἀλλά."[11] As the corrections in min. 2 and min. 2815 (the printer's copy) show, dealing with errors such as itacisms was a matter of course for Erasmus.[12]

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[7] Ep. 373 ll. 54–57 ("... si quid librariorum vel incuria vel inscitia, si quid temporum iniuria vitiatum comperimus, id non temere, sed omnia quae licuit subodorati germanae reddidimus lectioni"; from 1516 onwards—ASD VI–5, p. 56 ll. 50–52 (EE 373 ll. 49–52); translation CWE).

[8] On the frequent confusion in Latin between '-vit' (perfect tense) and '-bit' (future tense), see the 1527 addition to the annotation 'Appropinquabit enim' on Matt 3:2 (ASD VI–5, p. 112 ll. 85–87); the phenomenon is also mentioned in the first entry of the list of 'clearly corrupted passages' ('loca manifeste depravata'; NT 1519, p. 90 (p. Hh 3ᵛ); NT 1522, p. D 2ᵛ; *Annot.* 1527, p. Oo 4ʳ; LB VI, p. *6ᵛ; Reeve 3, p. 17; for the 'lists of deficiencies', see above, p. 13 n. 16). For general reflections on the pronunciation of Greek (as well as Latin, French and Dutch!), see the 1527 addition to the annotation 'Paracletus autem spiritus sanctus' on John 14:26 (ASD VI–6, pp. 142–143 ll. 554–589; cf. below, p. 193 n. 11).

[9] "... in his facillimus est scribarum lapsus" (in the 1519 addition to the annotation 'Quae multum laboravit in vobis' on Rom 16:6).

[10] "Pronunciatione altera ab altera non distinguitur, sed scriptura" (*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 164 ll. 20–21).

[11] "Interpres legisse videtur pro ἀλλά, ἅμα" (in the annotation 'Simul et resurrectionis' on Rom 6:5; from 1516 onwards). Cf. Metzger, *Text*, p. 187.

[12] See below, p. 62 n. 42, and also Brown's annotations in ASD VI–2, passim.

b. *Homoeoteleuton* errors[13] are described by Erasmus in clear terms:

> From this place onwards some words are missing in our [Latin] manuscripts which seem to have been omitted through the carelessness of the scribes, who just there usually stumble as often as the same expression ends different phrases.[14]

Another clear description of the process can be found in Erasmus' reaction to one of Lee's criticisms:[15]

> I felt that the scribe had made an error for the following reason: because the words 'in this book' occur twice, he turned his eyes to the second instance, omitting the words in between. There is no stone on which the copyists stumble more often.[16]

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[13] Technically, 'homoeoteleuton', from the Greek ὁμοιοτέλευτον, designates the phenomenon that parts of a text have similar endings. In textual criticism the term is used for a transcription error occasioned by such similar endings.

[14] "Ab hoc loco in nostris codicibus desunt aliquot verba quae videntur incuria scribarum omissa, qui fere labi solent, quoties eadem dictio diversas claudit orationes" (ASD VI–5, p. 348 ll. 946–948; in the annotation on Matt 28:9 ('Et ecce Iesus'); from 1516 onwards, with 'in nostris codicibus' added in 1522). As indicated by Hovingh, ASD VI–5, p. 349 n.ll. 946–950, the 'omission' of ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ is already noted by Valla (Garin, 1, c. 823a), who also surmises an *aberratio oculi* of either translator or scribe. But Valla does not describe a recurring process the way Erasmus does. The MCT leaves the words out, mainly on the basis of the 'weight' of the 'witnesses' for the omission (cf. TC^2, p. 60; TC^1, p. 72). Erasmus misses a clear homoeoteleuton error in min. 2815 at Jas 4:6, and assumes instead that the words διὸ λέγει· κύριος (MCT ὁ θεὸς) ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν have been introduced here because of 1 Pet 5:5 (in the annotation 'Maiorem autem dat.'; from 1519 onwards).

[15] For yet another description, see the annotation on Matt 12:18 ('Ecce puer meus'), ASD VI–5, p. 214 ll. 518–522 (inspired by Jerome).

[16] "Sensimus autem scribam per eam occasionem errasse, quod cum bis ponatur *in libro isto* ille ad posterius oculos deflexerit relictis que sunt in medio. Siquidem ad nullum lapidem frequentius impingunt librarii" (*Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 278 ll. 32–34). This description is nice and clearly based on acquaintance with scribal practice, but Erasmus is mistaken about the text-critical case he is describing. In min. 2814, the manuscript he used for Revelation in his first edition, the final verses of the book are not missing because of homoeoteleuton, but simply because a leaf of the manuscript is missing (actually—as is often stated—it is not the final leaf of the manuscript that is missing, but the leaf with, besides part of the commentary, the final verses of the text, to wit Rev 22:16-21, from the words ὁ ἀστήρ at the end of verse 16 onwards). It has to be granted, however, that min. 2814 or its *Vorlage* certainly suffered from homoeoteleuton at many places. One might conclude that homoeoteleuton phenomena were familiar to Erasmus to such an extent that he could even use them as a subterfuge when he no longer remembered the exact state of affairs. For a harsher view, see Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Funde* 1, pp. 14–15.

c. *Abbreviations* (for instance 'nomina sacra') can lead to confusion, as Erasmus ingeniously observes when he compares in Acts 13:23 the Latin reading 'salvatorem Iesum' ('a saviour, Jesus') with the Greek σωτηρίαν:

> It appears plausible to me that this erroneous Greek reading arose from their ligatures; for perhaps a scribe who was not attentive enough or had poor sight made σωτηρίαν out of σρα ιν [an abbreviation for σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν].[17]

Other instances also show that Erasmus knows about the text-critical importance of 'nomina sacra'.[18]

d. In *lists*, omissions and transposition can easily occur. Erasmus' experience makes him state this as a general principle, already in 1516:

> In the enumeration of these things the copies vary somewhat. This tends to happen just as often as such a number of elements is listed, in my opinion because the scribe's memory fails him.[19]

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[17] "... mihi probabile videtur apud Graecos ortum hanc scripturae errorem, ex illorum notulis. Fortassis enim ex σρα ιν parum attentus scriba aut lusciosus etiam, fecit σωτηρίαν" (ASD VI–6, p. 264 ll. 977–979; added in 1519, with only in 1519 'abbreviaturis' instead of 'notulis'). Translation after Rummel, *Annotations*, p. 112 (transliteration undone). Constantin von Tischendorf (Ti[8]) writes: "An error which arose from the old script. They confused CPAIN with CPAIN, or CWTHPAIN with CWTHPIAN" ("Qui error ex antiqua scriptura ortus est. Commutarunt enim CPAIN cum CPAIN, sive CWTHPAIN cum CWTHPIAN"). Metzger gives the same explanation, introduced by the words: "The error arose, as Tischendorf observes, through a palaeographical oversight ..." (TC[2], p. 359; TC[1], p. 408). The 'error' would be classified under those arising from faulty eyesight (cf. Metzger, *Text*, p. 186), though it is somewhat strange that Metzger only mentions astigmatism, and not poor reading conditions as well, as Erasmus' term 'lusciosus' suggests.

[18] In the 1527 addition to the annotation 'Barieu' on Acts 13:6, Erasmus dismisses a conjecture of the Venerable Bede: "He suspected that the text was corrupt for this reason that Βαριηοῦ, if you put an abbreviation sign above it, means the same as Βαριησοῦ written in full. But he did not accept that this holy name should be given to a sorcerer" ("... suspicatur autem scripturam corruptam hac occasione, quod Βαριηοῦ, si superponas virgulam abbreviationis notam, significat idem quod Βαριησοῦ plene scriptum. Non patitur autem hoc sanctum nomen imponi mago"—ASD VI–6, p. 262 ll. 923–926). See the Venerable Bede, *Expositio Actuum apostolorum* (CCSL 121, p. 61 ll. 11–16) and Jerome, *Nom. hebr.* (CCSL 72, p. 144 ll. 25–26). For Erasmus' view on Jerome's conjecture on Mark 15:25, see below, p. 157.

[19] "In harum enumeratione rerum nonnihil variant exemplaria, id quod fere solet usu venire, quoties recensentur huiusmodi compluscula fallente scriptorem, opinor, sua memoria" (in the annotation 'In patientia multa' on 2 Cor 6:4—ASD VI–8, p. 388 ll. 32–34; from 1516 onwards).

He refers to variants in the long list in 2 Cor 6:4–7, though not many of these are known.[20] On other occasions, Erasmus describes the same phenomenon,[21] and he can even remark in 1522: "I have frequently pointed out that in such lists the text varies."[22]

e. Erasmus even knew about *scribal blunders*. A telling example, similar to the one he exposes in 2 Cor 8:4,[23] is described in the 1527 addition to the annotation on Titus 1:12 ('Ventris pigri'):

> The original passage [with 'ventres' and not 'ventris' for the Greek γαστέρες] is contained in the more recent Constance copy. In the older one[24] I noticed something ridiculous: some erudite person had added a marginal note: 'He has made use of a verse of the poet Menetes, which later Callimachus employed.' An inexperienced scribe crammed it into the text, and put 'Menetes' instead of 'Epimenides'.[25]

To this he adds an almost programmatic remark:

> Someone might say: 'What use is it to detain the reader with such trifles?' [The use is] that I be trusted when I sometimes demonstrate

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[20] The critical editions surprisingly show few variants here (NA[27]; vg[st]; Ti[8]). Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.) gives some minor variants, among which the reading μακροθυμίαις instead of μακροθυμία in mins. 2817 and 76 (Wettstein's 7[p] and 49[p]=76[c]=43[a]). This reading was probably adopted in Erasmus' 1516 edition (and subsequently in the Aldine edition) because of min. 2817.

[21] For instance in the annotations on Matt 5:4 ('Beati qui lugent'; 1516— ASD VI–5, p. 132 ll. 553–555); Rom 1:29 ('Avaricia'; 1516); Rom 8:38 ('Neque futura, neque fortitudo'; 1519).

[22] "Iam frequenter admonui in huiusmodi catalogis variare scripturam" (in a 1522 addition to the annotation 'Cum omni castitate' on 1 Tim 3:4).

[23] Cf. above, p. 18 n. 29, on the scribal blunder in min. 3.

[24] For these Vulgate manuscripts, see Hovingh's remarks in ASD VI–5, p. 7 (also in ASD VI–6, p. 3) and van Poll–van de Lisdonk's note in ASD VI–8, p. 47 n.l. 94.

[25] "Germanam scripturam obtinebat Constantiniense exemplar recentius. In vetustiore deprehendi quiddam ridiculum. Aliquis doctus annotarat in margine: 'Menetis poetae abusus est versiculo, quem postea Callimachus usurpavit.' Id scriba rudis infulserat in contextum, et 'Menetis' posuit pro 'Epimenidis'." The marginal note obviously depends on Jerome, *Epist*. 70 (CSEL 54, p. 701 ll. 10–13). In a preceding note, 'Proprius eorum propheta', Erasmus points out (1516) that the words Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί are presumably taken from a book by Epimenides, Περὶ τῶν χρησμῶν, whereas Callimachus' *Hymn. Jov.* only contains the first three words. He refers to his own *Adagia* (see ASD II–1, pp. 245–246 ll. 775–786 and ASD II–4, p. 198 ll. 54–57), and to Angelo Poliziano's *Miscellanea*. For more information on Erasmus' sources, see the editors' note in ASD II–4, p. 199 n.l. 53 and ASD II–1, pp. 245.247 n.l. 777 and n.l. 783.

a place similarly corrupted, which I wish would occur less often, especially in the sacred books.[26]

2.1.2 *Intentional changes*

On many occasions, Erasmus detected intentional scribal changes. As we will see, he often pointed out that scribes altered readings because they were 'offended' or 'confused'. Therefore, he shared the insight that it would be better to have scribes who do not think:

> For no one corrupts books more, or more dangerously, than the half-learned or the learned even when they are for the most part careful.[27]

Erasmus discerned intentional scribal change for different reasons.

a. Sometimes *the influence of liturgical or ecclesiastical use* leads to additions, according to Erasmus. The most important example of this category concerns Matt 6:13b, the doxology to the Lord's prayer.[28] Erasmus notes the radical difference between the Greek, which has the doxology, and the Latin, which does not have it, and remarks, already in 1516: "It seems added on the basis of religious usage."[29] The addition is referred to in the important

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[26] "Dixerit aliquis, quorsum opus est talibus nugis morari lectorem? Ut mihi credatur si quando commonstro locum simili modo depravatum, quod utinam rarius accideret in sacris praesertim voluminibus."

[27] "Nam nulli magis aut periculosius depravant libros quam semidocti aut docti etiam partim attenti"—*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 200 ll. 623–624. Also indicated by Rummel, *Annotations*, p. 39. For a similar remark, see the preface to the second edition of Seneca (1529), EE 2091, ll. 171-174 (cf. ll. 125-128). See further Erasmus' exclamation "After all, what did copyists not dare to do?" ("Quid tandem non ausi sunt librarii?"—*Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*, LB IX, c. 755 F).

[28] Another example is Matt 1:18, where Erasmus' Greek has Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (with some variants), but the Vulgate only 'Christi'. Erasmus prefers the latter, and writes: "But I suspect that 'Jesus' was added either by a scribe or out of the practice of ecclesiastical recitation" ("Suspicor autem additum 'Iesu' vel a scriba vel ex consuetudine recitationis ecclesiasticae"; in the annotation 'Christi autem generatio'—ASD VI–5, p. 74 ll. 226–227; 1522).

[29] "apparet ex solenni consuetudine sic additum" (in the annotation 'Quia tuum est regnum'—ASD VI–5, p. 160 l. 183; 1516). Interestingly, Erasmus' remark seems to have influenced the Complutensian Polyglot; see Bentley, *Humanists*, p. 78.

annotation on Rom 9:5, which may also demonstrate that Erasmus regarded such ecclesiastical additions as a distinctive category of scribal changes.[30]

b. Erasmus could identify readings as scribal *additions made for clarity's sake*.[31]

c. A more frequent phenomenon is *harmonisation and assimilation*. In fact, Erasmus had a keen eye for harmonisation as a possible cause of textual 'corruption'.[32] He found it within the Latin tradition, in Greek manuscripts, and in patristic quotations. He even provides a general description:

> And often we find that a passage is changed from [under the influence of] another passage, while a reader prefers what he remembers to have read elsewhere, or suspects to be corrupt what differs.[33]

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[30] See below, pp. 115–120, for the discussion of Erasmus' annotation on Rom 9:5.

[31] For instance the reading ἐκ σου ('ex te') in Luke 1:35: "It seems added by some explainer" ("Apparet adiecta ab explanatore quopiam"—ASD VI–5, p. 462 ll. 476–477; 1519), or the reading 'filium meum charissimum' in Phm 12, which is found in many Latin manuscripts, according to Erasmus: "Perhaps this is added by one who wanted the text to explain what it means, 'that is, my viscera' " ("Fortassis adiectum est hoc ab eo qui voluerit interpretari quid sit *hoc est viscera mea*"—in the annotation 'Illum ut mea viscera'; 1522).

[32] Bentley gives John 12:35 (ASD VI–6, p. 128 ll. 270–274) and 2 Cor 4:4 (ASD VI–8, p. 366 ll. 645–647) as examples ('Erasmus and Le Clerc', p. 313 n. 17), as well as Matt 27:39–40 (ASD VI–5, p. 341 ll. 794–795); John 7:29–30 (ASD VI–6, p. 98 ll. 603–606); 1 Cor 4:16 (cf. 1 Cor 11:1—ASD VI–8, p. 92 ll. 886–887) (*Humanists*, p. 141). Some other examples out of many are: Mark 1:10 ('et manentem'; cf. John 1:32 καὶ μένον—ASD VI–5, p. 358 ll. 191–192); Mark 1:24 ('ante tempus'; cf. Matt 8:29 πρὸ καιροῦ—ASD VI–5, p. 360 ll. 253–254); Mark 3:5 ('sana ut altera'; cf. Matt 12:13 ὑγιὴς ὡς ἡ ἄλλη—ASD VI–5, p. 360 ll. 253–254); John 8:59 (διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν, καὶ παρῆγεν οὕτως—ASD VI–6, p. 116 ll. 956–957; cf. Luke 4:30). The last example is even mentioned in the list of elements 'that have been added in our copies' ('quae sint addita in nostris exemplaribus'), somewhat against the aim of this list, for the addition only concerns Greek manuscripts (NT 1519, p. 96 (p. Hh 6ᵛ); NT 1522, p. D 5ᵛ; *Annot.* 1527, p. Oo 6ᵛ; LB VI, p. **1ʳ; Reeve 3, p. 27; for the 'lists of deficiencies', see above, p. 13 n. 16).

[33] 'Et saepenumero comperimus locum ex altero loco mutatum, dum lector vel melius esse putat quod alibi legisse meminit, vel depravatum suspicatur quod diversum est' (in the annotation 'Auditu audietis' on Matt 13:14, on the differences between Isa 6:9–10 LXX, Matt 13:14–15 and Acts 28:26–27—ASD VI–5, p. 223 ll. 749–751; 1516). As can be expected, Erasmus comments on harmonisation especially in the (synoptic) Gospels. Characteristic are his remarks on Luke 11:4 (in the annotation 'Sed libera nos a malo'): 'This [the words "but deliver us from evil"] is not added in Luke in some Latin manuscripts, as well as some other [words], which seem to have been added from the

Similarly, Erasmus was increasingly cautious in his use of patristic scriptural quotations. In the beginning of his work on the New Testament, he thought that patristic quotations could end the stalemate between Greek and Latin readings. During the various revision periods, however, he became more and more aware of the many pitfalls that beset the use of patristic text-critical data.[34] He even writes on them in general terms:

> ... scribes are accustomed to emend the citations of the ancients according to our Vulgate edition;[35]
> the assiduity of those who have emended, according to the Vulgate edition, texts quoted from Scripture has corrupted many passages in the ancient authors.[36]

In the case of Latin translations of Greek commentaries, his experience taught him that the critic's vigilance has to be doubled. On

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other evangelists, so that there be no divergence. This, I suppose, has been done in many other places as well' ('Hoc in quibusdam Latinis exemplaribus apud Lucam non additur, sicut et alia nonnulla, quae videntur ex aliis euangelistis adiecta, ne viderentur dissentire. Id quod coniicio factum et aliis item compluribus locis'—ASD VI–5, p. 538 ll. 478–480; 1516). Harmonisation as indicated by Erasmus is by no means restricted to the Gospels; see for instance on Acts 23:9 ('Quid si spiritus loquutus est ei aut angelus'—ASD VI–6, p. 320 l. 234; 1527) and 2 Cor 12:1 ('Si gloriari oportet'—ASD VI–8, p. 460 ll. 245–248; 1516).

[34] In the light of this, it is not exactly clear why Bentley states that "Erasmus did not realise all the implications of patristic quotations, nor the problems involved in using them" (*Humanists*, p. 144). Especially the latter may not be entirely correct: though it is true that Erasmus needed patristic evidence in order to be on surer ground in the many cases where the Greek and Latin differ, Erasmus did not use it naively, as we will see. Cf. EE 1858 (from 1527) ll. 170–175.

[35] "Solent enim scribae citationes veterum ad hanc vulgatam aeditionem emendare" (in the 1535 addition to the annotation 'Cogitationum accusantium' on Rom 2:15; translation CWE 56, p. 82).

[36] "Multa depravavit in vetustis autoribus illorum sedulitas, qui iuxta vulgatam aeditionem emendarunt citata scripturae testimonia" (in the 1535 addition to the annotation 'Salvae factae sunt' on Rom 11:5; translation CWE 56, p. 294). In the same note, but already in 1527, Erasmus states that the Latin version of Origen's commentary does not always reflect Origen's personal views: "Nevertheless I have pointed out that his translator took great liberties with those commentaries" ("Quanquam admonui iam interpretem in illis commentariis sibi multum iuris sumpsisse"; translation CWE 56, p. 293). For yet another similar statement, see the introduction to the short appendix on the 1527 *Annotationes*, ASD VI-6, p. 351 ll. 4-7: "... those who thus far translated the commentaries of the Greek writers, for reasons unknown to me, preferred to use the Vulgate translation rather than to express what the Greek books actually had. Therefore, it often occurs that the interpretation does not agree with the translation." ("... qui hactenus Graecorum commentaria verterunt, nescio quo consilio Vulgatam translationem reddere maluerunt quam exprimere quod erat in Graecis codicibus. Unde saepenumero fit ut interpretatio non respondeat ad id quod translatum est.")

Theophylact's commentary, for instance, he writes: "Everywhere the translator imposes our Vulgate edition" to which he even adds in 1535: "not to say scribal corruption."[37] Erasmus actually seems to develop as a principle a mistrust of a Father's reading if what is found in his text ('in contextu') is not clearly confirmed by his commentary ('ex enarratione' or 'in commentariis').[38] This principle can be found already in two 1519 additions to the *Annotationes*.[39]

d. Another category of textual corruption ('depravandi genus') is *the adoption of marginal glosses in the text*, a phenomenon of

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[37] "... interpres ubique vulgatam nostram inculcat aeditionem" (from 1519 onwards—ASD VI–8, pp. 116.118 ll. 326–327); "ne dicam scribarum depravationem" (1535—ASD VI–8, p. 118 l. 327; in the annotation 'Empti enim estis precio magno' on 1 Cor 6:20). Cf. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 196 ll. 552–553 and EE 1789 (part of the 1527 edition) ll. 1–8.

[38] Some examples may show Erasmus' development. In the 1535 addition to the annotation on 1 Cor 9:23 ('Omnia autem facio'), he writes: "Chrysostom has πάντα, though from his explanation it is not clear enough what he read" ("Chrysostomus habet πάντα, quanquam ex enarratione parum liquet quid legerit"—ASD VI–8, p. 206 ll. 896–897). In the annotation on 2 Cor 13:2 ('Praedixi enim et praedico') the layers are also significant (ASD VI–8, p. 470 ll. 429–431); Erasmus writes in 1516: "The word 'For' is redundant" ("*Enim* redundat"), to which he adds in 1519: "though it is added in Ambrose [Ambrosiaster]" ("licet addatur apud Ambrosium"); this concession is on its turn relativised in 1522: "in the text; however, in the commentary it is not clear what he read" ("in contextu. Quanquam in commentariis non liquet quid legerit"). See also the annotations on 1 Cor 14:23 ('Idiotae aut infideles'—ASD VI–8, p. 280 ll. 247–248; from 1522 onwards; on Ambrosiaster) and 1 Cor 14:33 ('Sicut in omnibus ecclesiis sanctorum'—ASD VI–8, p. 282 ll. 290–291; 1535; on Chrysostom). On Origen, see André Godin, *Érasme lecteur d'Origène*, pp. 166–167.

[39] In the annotation 'Et veram vitam' on 1 Tim 6:19 (on the reading 'veram' or 'aeternam'; in Greek ὄντως or αἰωνίου): "On the other hand, Chrysostom reads 'eternal', but he adds nothing in his interpretation from which it would be proven what he read" ("Contra Chrysostomus legit 'aeternam', nihil tamen adiiciens in interpretatione unde certo liqueat quid legerit"; from 1519 onwards; cf. *Hom. 1 Tim.*, PG 62 c. 598). In the annotation 'Nemo militans deo' on 2 Tim 2:4 (on the reading 'deo'—τῷ θεῷ, added to 'militans'—στρατευόμενος), Erasmus notes in 1516 that it is added in Ambrose's (Ambrosiaster's) commentary ("additur apud Ambrosium"), but he modifies this in 1519 by saying "but not in the explanation" ("non tamen in interpretatione") (cf. *Comm. epist. Paul.*, CSEL 81/3, pp. 302–303 ll. 20–27.1–2). In 1527, he points out that 'deo' was also added in the Latin translation of Theophylact's commentary (not in PG 125, c. 103A).

which the *Annotationes* contain numerous examples.[40] Erasmus even describes it in a general way:

> Neither is it a rare phenomenon, that a half-learned scribe adds something from somewhere else in the margin, which later another even less learned transfers into the text.[41]

As this citation shows, this category may seem to be somewhat in between unintentional and intentional scribal change.[42] It is a two-stage process, as Erasmus recognises, the first of which can involve both corrections and comments. Thus sometimes no more than a misunderstanding is at stake: what was merely intended as a clarification by one scribe was erroneously incorporated into the text by another.

e. An intriguing aspect is Erasmus' detection of '*orthodox corruption*'. Several of his opponents tended to distrust all Greek manuscripts and readings on dogmatic grounds. In their view, the Greek heretics and schismatics were not to be trusted in the transmission of the biblical text.[43] Erasmus dismissed this position, first

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[40] In John 4:4, Erasmus exposes internal corruption in the Vulgate transmission, explaining the origin of the reading 'per mediam Samariam' as a marginal gloss. He even adds that this is "an occasion on which we observe the intrusion of numerous errors" ("qua quidem occasione deprehendimus complureis irrepsisse mendas"; in the annotation 'Per mediam Samariam'—ASD VI–6, p. 76 ll. 75–76; 1519). The reading seems influenced by Luke 17:11. In John 21:22, Erasmus explains the reading 'si sic' in the same way, and speaks of a 'category of [textual] corruption' ('depravandi genus'; in the long annotation 'Sic eum volo manere'—ASD VI–6, p. 174 l. 252; 1527; the annotation is discussed at length below, p. 149). On the long addition in Acts 23:25 (cf. NA²⁷), Erasmus refers with approval to Lyranus's opinion ("but this explanation had been added in the margin and was brought into the text by some ignorant person"—"verum hoc glossema adiectum fuisse in margine, quod inscius quispiam retulerit in contextum"; in the 1522 addition to the annotation 'Timuit enim ...'—ASD VI–6, p. 322 ll. 284–286). In this case, Lee's remark that Erasmus apparently mistrusted the Greek manuscripts, which lack this addition, had made Erasmus review the issue (cf. *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, pp. 216–218 ll. 414–428). In Gal 1:6, Erasmus observes that in the reading 'sic tam' (cf. οὕτως) one of the two elements is superfluous and explains its origin as a marginal note (in the annotation 'Quod sic tam cito'; in 1516 already).

[41] "Neque raro contingit, ut scriba doctulus aliunde addat aliquid in spaciis, quod post alius indoctior referat in contextum" (in the annotation 'Durum est tibi' on Acts 9:5—ASD VI–6, p. 240 ll. 462–463; 1522).

[42] Cf. the doubt Metzger expresses concerning 'errors of judgment' (*Text*, pp. 193–194).

[43] Cf. Dorp's letter (EE 347 ll. 232–235; Ep. 347 ll. 249–252); *Capita*, LB VI, p. ***2ʳ (nos. 73–79; already in 1519, p. 77) and *Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*, LB IX, c. 779 E.

with general arguments: the study of Greek was promoted by the
pope, and the publication of a Greek New Testament was not
only permitted but even sustained by Leo X, who supported
Ximenez' Complutensian Polyglot by sending manuscripts from
the Vatican Library to Alcalá de Henares. Second, he maintained
that Greek manuscripts show no signs of being tampered with for
dogmatic reasons.[44] It was not the Greek heretics who corrupted
the texts in order to have its support, but the Latin-speaking
orthodox who sometimes did, in an understandable but pointless
effort to eliminate from scripture those passages that might lead
to heretical interpretations. Thus, in several cases, Erasmus re-
versed the argument of his opponents, with impressive freedom
of thought and quality of reasoning.[45]

f. Finally, Erasmus seems to have been clearly aware of what
would later be called *the principle of the harder reading*.[46] This
aspect of his text-critical work deserves to be discussed in a sepa-
rate section.

2.2 THE PRINCIPLE OF THE HARDER READING

Jerry Bentley has demonstrated that the principle of the harder
reading plays a minor but important role in Erasmus' approach to
textual problems.[47] In fact, many critics, even before Erasmus,
have had an inkling of this principle. In the history of textual
criticism, we witness critics trying to 'outwit' scribes, observing
scribal changes and explaining them as obvious attempts to im-
prove the text. It is therefore not surprising that they make

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[44] Cf. *Apolog. adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*, LB IX, c. 782 B–C.

[45] Some examples are mentioned below. Erasmus repeatedly anticipates
Ehrman's *Orthodox Corruption* by several centuries.

[46] Also known as 'the principle of the more difficult reading (*lectio diffici-
lior*).' On its history, see Kenney, *Classical Text*, p. 43 (with n. 2).

[47] Bentley, 'Erasmus' Annotationes', pp. 48–49 (p. 48: "he never stated in so
many words that 'dificilior (sic) lectio potior'' "); 'Biblical Philology',
pp. 15–18; 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', pp. 312–320 (p. 317: "The question arises
... whether he ever expressed the principle in general terms. ... the answer, I
believe, must be yes"); *Humanists*, pp. 153–158; Rummel, *Annotations*, p. 117
(Rummel depends on Bentley).

remarks that can be regarded as an application of the principle of the harder reading *avant la lettre*.[48]

It may be useful, however, to elaborate on Bentley's findings on Erasmus, and to put Erasmus' use of this principle in wider perspective. In many cases, Erasmus does not apply the principle of the harder reading as such, but the commonsense principle that governs this text-critical rule. He asks, so to speak, which one of two readings was more likely to give rise to the other one. He then uses the possible offence taken by a scribe as an indication. In this way, it is not simply a criterion by means of which he decides between two rival readings, but an effort to imagine the possible process by which a text was altered.

A good example can be found in 1 John 4:3, where Erasmus rejects the Vulgate reading 'solvit' (λύει) and accepts the Greek reading he knows, μὴ ὁμολογεῖ. He presents it as a reversal of arguments: not the heretics corrupted the text by changing λύει into μὴ ὁμολογεῖ, but an original μὴ ὁμολογεῖ was changed into λύει against the heretics.[49] It is not simply a matter of choosing the harder reading,[50] but an attempt to ascertain the most likely historical process. In this case, an argument from style and context also comes into play.[51]

Bentley records the following instances of Erasmus applying the principle of the harder reading (to which I add the edition in which he first advanced the idea).[52] In fact, were there no histori-

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[48] Egert Pöhlmann indicates a striking example of such a remark in Quintilian's *Inst.* (IX, 4, 39) (*Einführung*, p. 68 n. 102).

[49] "According to the *Historia tripertita* this place was corrupted by the heretics. I rather suspect that this word ['solvit'] was added against the heretics" ("Historia tripertita indicat hunc locum ab haereticis depravatum. Ego magis suspicor hanc particulam additam adversus haereticos"—in the 1522 addition to the annotation 'Et omnis spiritus qui solvit Iesum ex deo non est' on 1 John 4:3). Here Erasmus anticipates Ehrman's *Orthodox Corruption*, pp. 125–135. Cf. Metzger in TC², pp. 644–645 (TC¹, p. 713).

[50] Bentley cites this textual problem as an example of Erasmus applying the principle of the harder reading ('Erasmus and Le Clerc', p. 314). Ironically, it is often argued that λύει is the harder reading; cf. Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, pp. 125–129.

[51] "Indeed, what the Greek manuscripts read [μὴ ὁμολογεῖ], agrees better with the apostle John's style ..." ("Certe quod Graeci legunt magis congruit cum phrasi Ioannis apostoli ..."—in the 1522 addition).

[52] Not all examples given by Bentley seem correct; in 'Biblical Philology', p. 16, he states that "Erasmus argued correctly for the harder reading ... at Matt 2:6." In this case no variant readings are involved, however. Erasmus argues for

cal reasons to maintain the term 'the principle of the harder reading', it would be better to coin the expression 'the principle of the easier reading', for Erasmus mostly concentrates on the reading the rise of which he can explain. I will therefore present this list by giving those readings which Erasmus clearly considers 'easier' and therefore inauthentic.

> Matt 5:22: the addition of εἰκῇ (1516).[53]
> Matt 24:36: the omission of οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός (1516).[54]
> Mark 1:2–3: ἐν προφήταις instead of ἐν τῷ Ἠσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ (1516).[55]
> Mark 14:19: the addition of καὶ ἄλλος· μήτι ἐγώ; (1516).[56]
> Luke 6:26: ψευδοπροφήταις instead of προφήταις (1519).[57]
> Luke 22:24: the omission of the entire verse (1522).[58]
> John 7:1: οὐ γὰρ ἤθελεν instead of οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν (1519).[59]

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the harder interpretation here, that is, an authorial error in citation (οὐδαμῶς) that cannot be explained away (cf. Bentley, *Humanists*, p. 142). Erasmus' ideas on this verse resulted in considerable controversy; cf. ASD VI–5, p. 99 n.ll. 753–888.

[53] Bentley, 'Biblical Philology', p. 17 (cf. 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', p. 316). See ASD VI–5, p. 136 ll. 656–657.

[54] Bentley, 'Erasmus' Annotationes', p. 49 (cf. 'Biblical Philology, pp. 15–16 and 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', pp. 313–314). See ASD VI–5, p. 312 ll. 74–76: Erasmus suspects that the words have been omitted by someone who wanted to deprive adherents to the Arian heresy of a possible proof-text.

[55] Bentley, 'Erasmus' Annotationes', p. 48 (cf. 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', p. 316). See ASD VI–5, p. 352 ll. 62–65.

[56] Bentley, 'Biblical Philology', pp. 16–17. See ASD VI–5, pp. 422–423 ll. 870–874. Note that Erasmus is correct here, although he depends exclusively on the Vulgate for the shorter reading.

[57] Bentley ('Biblical Philology', p. 16) points out that Valla (see Garin, 1, c. 832b) assumes harmonisation in the Vulgate (sc. with verse 23). Also 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', p. 317 n. 23. See ASD VI–5, p. 516 ll. 853–855.

[58] Bentley, 'Biblical Philology', p. 18. See ASD VI–5, p. 596 ll. 986–987. Interestingly, Erasmus supposes an 'orthodox corruption' different from the one pointed out by Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, pp. 187–194. Whereas Ehrman shows that the inclusion of Luke 22:43–44 fits an anti-docetic agenda, Erasmus suggests that the omission of verse 44 (the only verse he comments upon) may be due to anti-Arian interests.

[59] Bentley, 'Biblical Philology', pp. 18–19 and 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', p. 314. See the annotation 'In Galilaeam, non enim volebat in Iudaeam' (ASD VI–6, p. 96 ll. 527–530). Erasmus also points out that the Latin equivalents, 'volebat' and 'valebat' are very similar and may have occasioned the confusion (ll. 530–531). Today the harder reading, which as Erasmus notes is read by Chrysostom (ll. 518–527), is argued for by Gordon Fee (see Fee, 'Greek Patristic Citations', pp. 357–358), but it is not commonly accepted because of the 'overwhelming weight of external evidence supporting ἤθελεν' (cf. Metzger, TC[2],

John 7:39: 'datus' (δεδομένον) instead of 'sanctus' (ἅγιον) (1516).[60]
1 Cor 15:51: πάντες ἀναστησόμεθα, οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα (which Erasmus knew as "Omnes quidem resurgimus, sed non omnes immutabimur"—"we shall all rise, but we shall not all be changed") instead of πάντες μὲν οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα ("we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed") (1519).[61]
1 John 5:7–8: the *Johannine Comma* (1528);[62] however, it is perhaps not so much the principle of the harder reading that is involved when Erasmus remarks that none of the orthodox Greek commentators use this text to defend the orthodox dogma of the trinity against the Arians, nor felt the need to adjust their text. A text without the *Johannine Comma* is not necessarily 'harder'; it is the striking absence of references to it in Greek sources that simply cannot be explained away.

Another example is given by Rummel; at Rom 12:13, Erasmus rejects the reading χρείαις in favour of μνείαις.[63] There are numerous others, for instance:

Mark 8:31: Erasmus rejects the reading τῇ τριτῇ ἡμέρᾳ (1519).[64]
Luke 2:33: instead of Ἰωσήφ, Erasmus adopts ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ

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pp. 184–185; TC¹, pp. 214–215).

[60] Bentley, 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', p. 316. See the annotation 'Nondum erat spiritus datus' (ASD VI–6, p. 100 ll. 645–646). The MCT has πνεῦμα even without ἅγιον; cf. Ti⁸ and Metzger, TC², p. 186 (TC¹, p. 218). This agrees nicely with an addition Erasmus makes in 1527, in which he states that both 'datus' and 'sanctus' are later additions (ASD VI–6, p. 102 ll. 673–674).

[61] Bentley, 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', pp. 317–320, and *Humanists*, pp. 156–158; cf. van Poll–van de Lisdonk's note in ASD VI–8, p. 303 n.ll. 645–855. See the annotation 'Omnes quidem resurgemus' (ASD VI–8, p. 308 ll. 730–732 and p. 310 ll. 774–777). Even clearer in 1522 (ASD VI–8, p. 310 ll. 779–788).

[62] *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX, c. 1030 C–E. Erasmus' treatment of this problem is used as an example by Bentley, 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', pp. 314–315.

[63] Rummel, *Annotations*, p. 117. Rummel states that here "Erasmus introduces a modern concept of textual criticism". However, the concept can be found at several places; it is rather Rummel who introduces this aspect in her discussion of Erasmus' work as a textual critic. For Erasmus' argumentation, see his annotation 'Necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes'. The harder reading μνείαις is not accepted today, because it is exclusively 'Western'.

[64] In the annotation 'Post tres dies': "It appears to have been done in order to change the passage, for at first sight it may seem incorrect that Christ (who rose the third day) should have risen 'after three days' " ("apparet data opera mutatam scripturam, quod prima fronte falsum esse videatur, Christum resurrexisse post tres dies, qui tertio die surrexerit"; from 1519 onwards—ASD VI–5, p. 400 ll. 290–291).

(1516).[65]
Luke 2:43: Ἰωσὴφ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ (1516).[66]
Acts 2:30: τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσειν τὸν Χριστόν (1519).[67]
Rom 12:11: instead of τῷ κυρίῳ, Erasmus adopts τῷ καιρῷ (1519).[68]

Some other examples deserve to be somewhat elaborated.

Rom 10:5 (the annotation 'Moses enim scripsit')
    The Greek text of this verse is known in two forms:[69]

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[65] "In some Greek manuscript I read 'Joseph' instead of 'father'; in my opinion it has been changed by someone who feared that Joseph be called Jesus' father" ("In Graecis aliquot codicibus lego pro pater, Ioseph; quod arbitror immutatum a quopiam, qui vereretur Ioseph vocare patrem Iesu ..."; 'aliquot' added in 1519—ASD VI–5, p. 484 ll. 42–44; similarly in *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 126 ll. 506–509). Erasmus expressly goes against 𝔐 here, knowing the 'harder' reading ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ from min. 1. His Greek text (in all editions) has ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, which is in fact a mixture of the two text-forms ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ and Ἰωσὴφ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ. Cf. Luke 2:43 for a similar case (ASD VI–5, p. 489 ll. 181–185).

[66] In the annotation 'Et non cognoverunt parentes eius': "The Greek manuscripts have καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω Ἰωσὴφ καὶ μήτηρ (sic! correct is ἡ μήτηρ) αὐτοῦ ('and Joseph and his mother did not know'), which I also consider corrupt, especially since some manuscripts have it differently, namely οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ('his parents'), just as somewhat earlier [Luke 2:33]" ("Graeci codices habent καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω Ἰωσὴφ καὶ μήτηρ (sic) αὐτοῦ, id est: "et non cognovit Ioseph et mater eius", quod et ipsum mutatum arbitror, praesertim cum in nonnullis exemplaribus secus habeatur, nempe οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, id est, "parentes eius", quemadmodum paulo superius"—ASD VI–5, p. 489 ll. 181–185; 'quemadmodum ... superius' added in 1519). Erasmus fails to point out that the variant comprises ἔγνωσαν (instead of ἔγνω), which was printed correctly in his text. He knew the reading οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ from min. 1.

[67] These Greek words have no counterpart in the Vulgate; in the annotation 'Iureiurando etc', Erasmus writes: "However, the Greek manuscripts vary here. I suspect that it is added by someone with just a little erudition, to whom the sentence otherwise seemed incomplete" ("tametsi variant hoc loco Graeci codices; et suspicor adiectum ab erudítulo quopiam, cui alioqui sermo videbatur parum absolutus"—ASD VI–6, p. 204 ll. 677–678; from 1516 onwards; 'Et ... absolutus' added in 1519).

[68] As in Rom 12:13, the 'harder reading' is almost exclusively 'Western'; once again, Erasmus' reasoning is more subtle than pointing out the 'harder reading': he suggests the change (from καιρῷ to κυρίῳ) was introduced by someone who was offended by the pagan connotations of the expression 'serving the time', but who did not realise that the expression 'serving the Lord' does not fit well in the context. Intestestingly, as Brown points out (ASD VI-3, p. 139, note on Rom 12:13 'tempori'), Erasmus knew the Greek reading τῷ καιρῷ only from its Latin translation 'tempori'; thus he actually put an inferred reading in his text, which nowadays happens to be attested (cf. NA[27]).

[69] Attestation according to NA[27] and GNT[3]. B and 33 have αὐτῇ instead of αὐτοῖς; NA[27] and GNT[3] are divided over one detail of the reading of 33*: does it read ταῦτα (GNT[3]) or αὐτά (NA[27] appendix II)? The presence or absence of

𝔓⁴⁶ ℵ² (B) D² (33ᶜ) ... 𝔐: ℵ* (A) (D*) (33*) 81 630 1506 ...:

Μωϋσῆς γὰρ γράφει   Μωϋσῆς γὰρ γράφει
                                              ὅτι
τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ (τοῦ) νόμου   τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ (τοῦ) νόμου
ὅτι
ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ἄνθρωπος   ὁ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπος
ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.   ζήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ.

The second form is reflected in the Vulgate: "Moses enim scripsit quoniam iustitiam quae ex lege est qui fecerit homo vivet in ea." ("For Moses wrote that the righteousness which is from the law the man who does [these things] shall live in it").[70] The problem, of course, did not present itself to Erasmus in the same way as it does today, for he knew the second form only from the Vulgate. Already in 1516, Erasmus writes: "The Latin version is corrupt here, but the Greek reads correctly ..."[71] Interestingly, only in 1535 does Erasmus explain the emergence of the Vulgate form in terms that point towards an understanding of the principle of the harder reading. He writes:

> A reader took offence at the seemingly absurd form of the syntax here, and transposed the conjunction ὅτι, eliminated the pronoun 'ea', and put *ea* in place of 'them' at the end.[72]

He even describes the difficult points[73] and concludes:

τοῦ before νόμου is not essential to the variation. The first form is adopted in NA²⁶⁻²⁷/GNT³⁻⁴ and the second in the earlier Nestle editions, following both Tischendorf and Westcott–Hort.

[70] In NA²⁷, the Vulgate is not indicated as supporting the second form, probably because it can reflect this form either with or without τοῦ.

[71] "Hic locus depravatus est apud nos, apud Graecos recte ... habetur, ..." (translation CWE 56, p. 278). In the 1535 edition, the Greek text cited in the annotation differs on three minor points from the MCT: the spelling μωσῆς, the punctuation (commas after γράφει, νόμου (spelled as νὸμου) and ἄνθρωπος), and most importantly a strange repetition of the article just before ἄνθρωπος.

[72] "Lector offensus absurda sermonis specie transtulit coniunctionem ὅτι, et sublato pronomine 'ea' in fine pro 'eis' posuit *ea*" (translation after CWE 56, p. 279; for 'absurda specie', CWE has 'incongruous form' instead of 'seemingly absurd form'; in CWE the first 'ea' is printed in italics, as it should be if it were part of the Vulgate text that is cited, but it is actually a word that is missing according to Erasmus).

[73] "To start with, *scribit iustitiam* [he writes the righteousness], meaning 'describes the righteousness' or 'writes about the righteousness,' seemed harsh. Then, 'who has done these things shall live in them' seemed even harsher to the reader, who did not notice that [these] words of scripture are reported under the persona of Moses, or of righteousness, so that ὅτι [that] is understood εἰδικῶς

Certainly in our [Vulgate] reading, the very manner of expression, so disordered, proves that the passage was corrupted by a scribe.[74]

This may seem rather obvious to us,[75] but in Erasmus' days, it was still revolutionary to describe the mental process by which a scribe 'corrupts' the text he intends to improve.[76]

Rom 16:5 ('Ecclesiae Asiae')

Before 1535, Erasmus simply opposes the Greek reading τῆς Ἀχαΐας against the Latin 'Asiae'. Only in 1535 does he form an opinion, supported by his observation that Origen and Jerome have 'Asia':

Those who changed 'Asia' into 'Achaia' appear to have been struck by the improbability that 'Epaenetus' was 'first' in all Asia Minor, whether through honour or conversion, for Asia Minor was divided into many regions.[77]

This way of reasoning clearly reflects an understanding of the principle of the harder reading. Erasmus' printed text, as well as the TR, remained Ἀχαΐας.

Gal 4:6 ('In corda vestra')

Erasmus prefers the reading ἡμῶν in Gal 4:6, and explains the reading ὑμῶν as accommodation to the preceding ἐστε (1527).[78]

[that is, to specify]" ("Principio durum videbatur *scribit iustitiam* pro eo quod erat 'describit iustitiam', sive 'scribit de iustitia'. Deinde durius etiam videbatur *qui fecerit ea vivet in eis* non animadvertenti referri verba scripturae sub persona Mosi, sive iustitiae, ut ὅτι accipiatur εἰδικῶς"; translation CWE 56, p. 279).

[74] "In nostra vero lectione ipse sermo perturbatior arguit locum a scriba corruptum" (translation CWE 56, p. 279).

[75] Cf. Metzger, TC[1], pp. 524–525 (not in TC[2]).

[76] In fact, Valla argued that his Greek reading (now MCT) agrees better with the facts: the latter part of the sentence is not from Moses (see Garin, 1, c. 858b). Erasmus knew this, for he discussed it in 1516. But he did not spot the possible objection—not seen by Metzger—that the text may have been changed precisely to improve its agreement with the Old Testament (Lev 18:5).

[77] "Qui 'Asiam' mutarunt in 'Achaiam' hoc videntur offensi quod non esset verisimile Epaenetum esse primum vel dignitate vel conversione totius Asiae minoris, quae in multas regiones dissecta est" (translation CWE 56, p. 426).

[78] See also ASD VI-3 a.h.l.; Brown does not agree with Erasmus.

1 Cor 6:20 ('Empti enim estis precio magno')

To the Greek τιμῆς corresponds the Latin 'precio magno' ('with a great price'); in his annotation, Erasmus combines several text-critical observations in order to show the secondary nature of 'magno' (which indeed is not even recorded in Ti[8]). The first observation is that the Greek manuscripts do not have a corresponding word. In 1516, Erasmus states clearly: " 'Magno' is added by our [Latin] manuscripts".[79] A text without 'magno' gives a better meaning, for the central point of the passage is not the magnitude of the price.[80] He adds a possible source for the addition: inspiration from an expression in 'Peter's letter', which he specifies in the 1519 edition to 1 Pet 1 (meant is 1 Pet 1:18). In 1519, he adds patristic evidence from Chrysostom, Theophylact, Ambrose and Origen.[81] He adds in passing a complaint about Theophylact's translator, who tends to conform scripture citations to the Vulgate edition he knows.[82] This last remark is stressed in 1522, when Erasmus adds:

> it follows by no means, that if the translator said that 'the price was high,' therefore the apostle wrote 'high'.[83]

In 1535, finally, Erasmus adds an argument based on the principle of the harder reading:

> He who changed the scripture seems to have been offended by the absurdity of the expression, as if something can be bought without a price, and [that therefore] this 'precio' ['price'] was superfluous unless you add 'magno' ['great'].[84]

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[79] "*Magno* a nostris additum est" (ASD VI–8, p. 116 l. 320).

[80] This idea can be found in Valla's work (see Garin, 1, c. 864b).

[81] See ASD VI–8, p. 117 n.ll. 324–325 and n.l. 325; pp. 118–119 n.l. 329; p. 118 n.l. 334. In the case of Ambrose and Chrysostom, Erasmus' evidence concerns 1 Cor 7:23, not 1 Cor 6:20.

[82] See above, p. 38; the translation is correct in PG 124, c. 638C.

[83] "Neque tamen consequens est, ut si interpres dixisset precium fuisse magnum, idcirco 'magnum' scripserit apostolus" (ASD VI–8, p. 118 ll. 327–329) It is not entirely clear which translator is meant, Theophylact's or the Vulgate's. Because of the context, the former is more likely. This also agrees with Erasmus' reaction to Stunica, who defended the Vulgate against the Greek manuscripts (*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 182 ll. 353–359, esp. ll. 356–357).

[84] "Qui mutavit scripturam videtur offensus absurditate sermonis, quasi quicquam ematur absque precio eoque precio superesse, nisi addas *magno*" (ASD VI–8, p. 118 ll. 336–338). Erasmus has to admit that the same 'correction' is not made in 1 Cor 7:23.

In the first part of this sentence Erasmus aptly formulates his conception of the principle of the harder reading: a change of text can be occasioned by scribes or readers who want to remove from it what strikes them as absurd.[85] But there is more.

2.2.1 *Erasmus' formulation of the principle as such*

Most of Bentley's examples are taken from Erasmus' annotations on the Gospels, but in the Pauline epistles he came across a striking example in which Erasmus states the principle of the harder reading in general terms.[86] In the 1519 addition to the annotation on 1 Cor 15:51 ('Omnes quidem resurgemus'), Erasmus writes, in Bentley's translation:

> And whenever the ancients report variant readings, that one always seems more esteemed ['suspectior'] to me which at first glance seems more absurd, for it is likely that a reader who is either not very learned or not very attentive was offended by the specter of absurdity and altered the text.[87]

There is, however, one difficulty with this formulation, namely, the word translated 'more esteemed' is 'suspectior', which normally means 'more suspect'. Erasmus seems thus to express the opposite of what he must intend.[88] Because of this problem Cleri-

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[85] For a similar expression, see the 1519 addition to the annotation 'Legistis et cognovistis' on 2 Cor 1:13: "... some half-learned reader, offended that the text seems absurd at first sight, changed the writing" ("... offensus lector quispiam eruditulus, quod prima specie sermo videretur absurdus ... mutavit scripturam"—ASD VI–8, p. 336 ll. 145–147); in this case, the apparent absurdity is found in the words 'we write you nothing but what you read' which in many translations is circumvented by the rendering 'what you can read'.

[86] Bentley, 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', pp. 317–320, and *Humanists*, pp. 156–158. As we have seen above, Erasmus also comes close to it in his 1519 addition to the annotation on 2 Cor 1:13 ('Legistis et cognovistis') and in the 1535 addition to the annotation on 1 Cor 6:20 ('Empti enim estis precio magno').

[87] "Et quoties veteres fatentur lectionem esse diversam, semper mihi suspectior esse solet ea quae prima specie videtur absurdior, ut consentaneum sit lectorem vel parum eruditum vel parum attentum, offensum absurditatis imagine, mutasse scripturam" (ASD VI–8, p. 310 ll. 774–777). Translation after Bentley, *Humanists*, p. 158.

[88] His contemporaries understood Erasmus' remark correctly, as becomes clear from the marginal notes (called 'elenchi' or 'indices marginali') in the Froben editions from 1519 onwards to which Bentley also draws attention

cus, as editor of Erasmus' *Opera Omnia*, suggests reading 'verior' ('more true') instead of 'suspectior',[89] whereas Bentley provides a long explanation in order to show that 'suspectior' can mean 'more esteemed' and must mean that here.[90] Rummel tries to explain Erasmus' words as "the reading that appears absurd at first sight always tends to be the more suspect one, in my opinion", that is, in my paraphrase, "I have noticed that scribes and commentators tend to treat the reading that appears absurd at first sight as the more suspect one."[91] Such a lack of clarity in expression, forcing a reader to detach 'mihi' ('to me') from 'suspectior', can hardly be Erasmian. Interestingly, Clericus did not recoil from a drastic emendation, while both modern commentators try to solve the textual problem by tortuous interpretation, maintaining the text as it is.

Is there another solution? Bentley's rather special pleading for an unusual meaning of 'suspectior' seems to be influenced by Clericus's proposal to emend just this word, but the problem does not lie in this word only, nor in its meaning, but in the whole expression 'mihi suspectior esse solet ea ...' Therefore, I conjecture that a simple negation is omitted,[92] a common phenomenon which can easily go unnoticed for a long time if the expressed

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('Erasmus and Le Clerc', p. 320). The one on this paragraph reads: "That which at first glance seems more absurd, that especially becomes depraved" ("Quod prima fronte absurdius, id maxime depravatur").

[89] LB VI, c. 742 n.: "Legendum *verior*."

[90] 'Erasmus and Le Clerc', pp. 318–320. Clericus and all other readers of Erasmus' works will notice that he frequently uses the verb 'suspicor' to introduce conjectures of any kind, mostly with a slightly pejorative nuance. He does so, for instance, even a few lines below this very word 'suspectior'. He even derides Stunica for having written "possumus sine dubio suspicari ..." ("we can suspect without doubt ..."): "That is a new way of speaking. Who would suspect without doubt?" ("Novum sermonis genus. Quis suspicatur absque dubio?"— *Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.*, LB IX, c. 398 C).

[91] Rummel, *Annotations*, p. 117. Cf. van Poll–van de Lisdonk, ASD VI–8, p. 311 n.ll. 774–777, who seems to accept Rummel's reasoning. All scholars agree that Erasmus somehow expresses the idea that scribes tend to alter texts in which they find some problem and that therefore the more problematic text is probably original.

[92] In some instances, Erasmus himself added such a 'non' in a later edition of his *Annotationes*; see the annotations on Matt 2:6 ('Et tu Bethleem'—ASD VI–5, p. 100 l. 813) and on Acts 13:6 ('Barieu'—ASD VI–6, p. 260 l. 913); 'non' is omitted in the annotation on Acts 15:34 ('Manere ibi'—ASD VI–6, p. 274 l. 194 and app.).

thoughts are sufficiently complicated.[93] If we supply 'non ea' for 'ea', then the key phrase would be: "semper mihi suspectior esse solet non ea quae prima specie absurdior" ("the [reading] that is always more suspect to me is not the one which is more absurd at first glance"). Read thus, the words become smooth and clear, 'suspectior' retains its usual meaning, and the idea that is expressed connects well with the explanation that follows immediately, which ends with the text being altered.

2.3 COMMON SENSE AND SOUND REASONING

With all the evidence presented here, we conclude that Erasmus understands and applies the principle of the harder reading in an astonishingly 'modern' way.[94] He can explain the origin of variant readings as scribal accommodation and does so repeatedly, though not consistently. Moreover, as the editor of the New Testament text he approaches his task—albeit implicitly—in a historical way, that is, as dealing with the transmission of manuscripts and therefore with unintentional and intentional scribal changes. In this sense his conception of the *lectio difficilior* rule belongs to a vast arsenal of text-critical argumentation, aimed at undoing the damage inflicted by scribes over time. Indeed, every reason the critic imagines for scribes altering texts can be brought forward. An interesting example is found in the early form of the annotation on Acts 1:4. Elaborating on a remark by Valla,[95] Erasmus assumes internal corruption in the Vulgate transmission, and looks for an explanation:

> Anyone who pays some attention to it could easily conclude that the translator wrote 'conversans' ['keeping company'] and not

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[93] Numerous conjectures on the text of the New Testament itself consist in the addition of a negation. To name but a few: Beza's (the Vulgate's) οὐ μακράν in Matt 8:30 (see below, p. 301); Henri Bois's οὐ λέγει in 1 Cor 9:10 (see Schmiedel, *Thessalonicher und Korinther*, p. 144; Schmiedel's source, Henri Bois, *De priore Pauli ad Corinthos Epistula. Adversaria critica* (1887), was unavailable to me); Theodor Nissen's ἵνα μή in 2 Cor 1:17 ('Philologisches' (1937)); von Harnack's οὐκ εἰσακουσθείς in Heb 5:7 ('Korrekturen', p. 249; see above, p. 1); ECM's οὐχ εὑρεθήσεται in 2 Pet 3:10.

[94] On the principle of the harder reading, see further EE 396 ll. 188–194 and ll. 144–147 (Ep. 396 ll. 203–209 and 156–159).

[95] Cf. Garin, 1, c. 847a.

'convescens' ['eating']. I think that some hungry person, dreaming of nothing else but food, changed it into 'convescens'; he would have considered it inhumane if Christ had left his own without first having a small drinking party with them, as today the common people of our country do.[96]

So even hunger can be conceived as an incentive for textual corruption!

It has to be stressed that Erasmus did not apply his own 'rules' in a consistent, methodical way. This cannot be expected, for he did not have a fixed canon of rules that could be used as a checklist to inspire and to guide text-critical reflections and decisions. He also had a mind too versatile to be involved in the mechanical application of such a canon. He seems to have approached every problem anew, guided only by experience and common sense. Only in passing did he formulate some general text-critical principles, as a means of expressing the experience he gathered while working his way through the texts and the manuscripts. The evocation of these principles throughout the *Annotationes*, in turn, served a clear and simple aim: to win even the critical readers for Erasmus' project of purification. At the same time, we observe textual criticism in the making as often as Erasmus confronted two readings and tried to determine which one is secondary.

This conclusion leads to the one further aspect of what I tentatively call 'common sense' which still deserves some elaboration. Erasmus tended to discard readings that he could ascribe to scribes making errors or corrupting the text by wanting to improve it, for whatever reason. Put differently: he seems to have had an inkling of the local-genealogical principle in textual criticism, according to which the critic has to "choose the reading

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[96] "Quisquis vel mediocriter attenderit, facile coniectabit ab interprete scriptum fuisse conversans, non convescens. Id famelicus opinor quispiam, nihil nisi cibum somnians vertit in convescens, quod inhumanum putaret Christum suos relinquere, nisi prius habita cum illis conpotatiuncula, quemadmodum hodie vulgus nostratium facit" (in the annotation 'Et convescens praecepit'—ASD VI–6, pp. 183.185 app.; 1516–1519). This part of the annotation is replaced in 1522, under the influence of the criticism brought forward by Lee (cf. *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 206 ll. 131–143) and Stunica (cf. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, pp. 136.138 ll. 560–566). In fact, 'convescens' is simply intended as a translation of the difficult word συναλιζόμενος. In the 1522 edition, Erasmus investigates on the correctness of this idea. The discussion is still going on; cf. BDAG s. συναλίζω.

which best explains the origin of the others."[97] In this respect, Erasmus' work on the text of the New Testament represents the best that the humanist tradition has to offer.

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[97] Cf. Metzger, *Text*, p. 207.

EDITORIAL DECISIONS

*Das Verdienst des Erasmus bei Herausgabe des griechischen Bibel-
textes hätte grösser sein können, wenn er bei reicherer Musse mit
Aufbietung aller seiner Kräfte und der für eine solche Aufgabe
doppelt notwendigen Gewissenhaftigkeit gearbeitet hätte*—Bludau[1]

As is well known, some verses and words in the Greek part of
Erasmus' editions were not derived from Greek manuscripts, but
were based on the Vulgate text. In a way, this procedure may
seem to qualify already as a kind of conjectural emendation, and I
will briefly discuss the two instances in which longer passages are
involved: Rev 22:16–21 and Acts 9:5. These texts are well known
and their fate in the tradition of the *Textus Receptus* has been
much discussed,[2] but some aspects of Erasmus' involvement still
deserve to be clarified. In the common conception, these two
instances are held to be conclusive for the understanding of the
quality of Erasmus' editorial and text-critical activity. As I shall
argue below, Erasmus' treatment of these two texts has not been
correctly understood. Even when it is seen in the right perspec-
tive, it is not necessarily typical of his approach.

Furthermore, in the recent edition of Erasmus' New Testament
text in the Amsterdam *Opera Omnia*, its editor, Andrew Brown,
states that Erasmus "made excessive use of conjecture to restore
the text."[3] This claim demands a critical evaluation through a
review of the evidence Brown provides throughout the edition.

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[1] Bludau, *Erasmus-Ausgaben*, p. 19.
[2] Metzger, TC[2], pp. 8*.318.690 (TC[1], pp. xxi.362; the comment on Rev
22:19 does not occur in TC[1]); Metzger, *Text*, pp. 99–100 (cf. Scrivener, *Intro-
duction*, 2, pp. 183–185). Rev 22:16–21 is mentioned for instance by Edward
Miller (*Guide*, p. 9 n. 1), Frederic G. Kenyon (*Handbook*, p. 269 en *Text*, p.
156), Léon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux (*Introduction*, p. 131),
Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland (*Text*, p. 4), Reynolds and Wilson (*Scribes and
Scholars*, p. 161), David Parker (in Rogerson, *History*, p. 112) and David
Daniell (*The Bible in English*, p. 118). Other examples of remarkable editorial
practice are more or less neglected in the secondary literature.
[3] ASD VI–2, p. 9.

3.1 RETRANSLATING LATIN INTO GREEK

3.1.1 *Revelation*

The manuscript on which Erasmus based his Greek text of Revelation, min. 2814,[4] was for a long time lost. It was rediscovered in the middle of the nineteenth century by Franz Delitzsch, who in a publication meticulously described Erasmus' treatment of the text of Revelation.[5] That must have been a considerable blow to the *Textus Receptus*.[6] To the text-critical details Delitzsch provides not much can be added. Not only did Erasmus retranslate the final verses of the book from Latin into Greek, he did so for many words and phrases found elsewhere.[7] Delitzsch considers

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[4] The manuscript was originally numbered by Wettstein 1 (or 1ʳ). The new Gregory–Aland number has been adopted according to the principle to have unique numbers for each Greek manuscript of the New Testament, and no longer for each of the four parts of the New Testament (Gospels, Pauline Epistles, Acts and Catholic Epistles (Apostolos), and Revelation), as Wettstein did. To some degree Wettstein's numbers reflect the history of the printed Greek New Testament: the manuscripts used by Erasmus come first, followed by those used by Stephanus, etc. Part of this historical aspect is lost in the new numbering. In the apparatus of NA[27] min. 2814, cited about 50 times, is still given its old number, e.g. at Rev 1:5 (°¹); 1:7 (ʹ); 2:3 (ʹ); 2:15 (ʳ).

[5] *Handschriftliche Funde*, 1. An important aspect of Delitzsch's criticism is the fact that Erasmus did not bother to emend the text of his editions systematically, once the Complutensian Polyglot had become available. The basic misunderstanding is that Delitzsch judges the Erasmian editions by the same standard as contemporary ones.

[6] One of the Erasmian blunders was in the Nestle editions, originally as part of Nestle's publicity campaign towards the British and Foreign Bible Society which in 1900 was still printing and selling an edition of the *Textus Receptus* (cf. Nestle, *Textus Receptus*, pp. 10.11). It concerns Rev 17:8, where min. 2814 reads καὶ πάρεστιν. Erasmus edited it as the ungrammatical καίπερ ἔστιν, which is mentioned in N[3–12] under ς (the siglum for TR) and in N[13–25] under 'Erasm'. It is also mentioned in Nestle, *Einführung*, ²1899, pp. 7–8.

[7] Delitzsch, *Handschrifliche Funde*, 1, passim. Cf. Scrivener, *Introduction*, 2, p. 184 n. 1. Some striking examples, by no means exhaustive, of omissions in min. 2814 that are restored by Erasmus:
Rev 2:2: καὶ ἐπείρασας τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους is restored as καὶ ἐπειράσω τοὺς φάσκοντας εἶναι ἀποστόλους (=TR) on the basis of the Vulgate "et temptasti eos qui se dicunt apostolos."
Rev 2:17: ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων is restored on the basis of the Vulgate "quod nemo scit nisi qui accipit."
Rev 2:20: ὅτι ἀφεῖς is restored as ὅτι ἐᾷς (=TR) on the basis of the Vulgate "quia permittis".
Rev 3:12 καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου is restored on the basis of the Vulgate "et nomen civitatis dei mei."

this procedure to be a scandalous falsification of the text and an inadmissible way of tampering with the Greek.[8] Since then, Erasmus' way of dealing with the final verses of the New Testament has served as the text-book illustration of the quality of his editorial practices, even though Tregelles has a more nuanced view of it.[9] He tries to imagine the working conditions in Froben's shop, and concludes that Erasmus could not have done otherwise in the case of Revelation than to fill in the gaps of min. 2814 with the help of the Vulgate:

> ... he had only the Latin Vulgate as his guide, and as he found that the MS. several times omitted clauses which ought certainly to be received as parts of the sacred text, he might naturally conclude that in other places where the Vulgate as he had it contained words or sentences not in his copy, that they ought to be supplied; and thus he unconsciously introduced additions to the Greek text.[10]

The sources themselves indeed show that the most important aspect is the editorial responsibility felt by Erasmus, but in the case of the final verses (Rev 22:16–21) there is more, as becomes clear from what he writes in his answer to Lee's criticisms:

> There was no doubt that some things were missing, and it was not much. Therefore we completed the Greek from our Latin texts, so that there might be no gap. We did not want to hide this from the reader, however, and acknowledged in the *Annotationes* what we had done,[11] in order that, if our words differed in some respect

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Rev 6:11 ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ στολὴ λευκὴ καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς is restored as ἐδόθησαν ἑκάστοις στολαὶ λευκαὶ καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς (=TR) on the basis of the Vulgate "datae sunt illis singulae stolae albae et dictum est illis."
Rev 22:11 καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπανθήτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω is restored as καὶ ὁ ῥυπῶν ῥυπωσάτω ἔτι καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω (=TR) on the basis of the Vulgate (partially) "et qui in sordibus est sordescat adhuc et qui iustus est iustificetur."

[8] Cf. the subtitle of *Handschriftliche Funde*, 1: 'die Erasmischen Entstellungen'; further: 'um so unverantwortlichere Windbeutelei' (p. 27); 'stümperhafter Willkür' (p. 45). In general, Delitzsch has no high opinion of the history of the *Textus Receptus*: "Die Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Textes ist ein trauriges Gewebe von Unwissenschaftlichkeit, Charlatanerie und Buchdruckerpuffen" (p. 57).

[9] Tregelles's subtle critique of Delitzsch's criticisms of Erasmus can be found in Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Funde*, 2, pp. 1–8.

[10] *Handschriftliche Funde*, 2, p. 4.

[11] Indeed, in the 1516 edition, Erasmus writes (in the annotation 'Etiam venio cito' on Rev 22:20): "However, at the end of this book, I found some words in our versions which were lacking in the Greek copies, but we added

from those that the author of this work had provided, the reader
who obtained a manuscript could restore them. ... And even this
that we did here we would not have dared to do in the case of the
Gospels nor indeed in the apostolic Epistles. The style of this book
is very simple and its contents are mostly narrative, let alone the
fact that its author has long since been unknown. Finally this place
is only the ending of the book.[12]

From these remarks, several elements deserve attention: the edi-
torial responsibility to leave no gap in the Greek text,[13] the
reader's responsibility (or latitude) to emend Erasmus' text when
this is possible on the basis of other Greek manuscripts,[14] and

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them from the Latin." ("Quamquam in calce huius libri nonnulla verba reperi
apud nostros quae aberant in Graecis exemplaribus; ea tamen ex latinis adiecimus.") This sentence is omitted from 1519 onwards, probably because Erasmus
erroneously thought that the text had been corrected (see below, p. 57 n. 16).

   [12] "Dubium non erat quin essent omissa, et erant perpauca. Proinde nos, ne
hiaret lacuna, ex nostris Latinis supplevimus Graeca. Quod ipsum tamen noluimus latere lectorem, fassi in annotationibus quid a nobis esset factum ut, si quid
dissiderent verba nostra ab his quae posuisset autor huius operis, lector nactus
exemplar restitueret. ... Et tamen hoc ipsum non eramus ausuri in Euangeliis,
quod hic fecimus, ac ne in epistolis quidem apostolicis. Huius libri sermo simplicissimus est, et argumentum fere historicum, ne quid dicam, de autore olim
incerto. Postremo locus hic coronis tantum est operis" (*Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*,
ASD IX–4, p. 278 ll. 35–39.39–43; cf. p. 120 ll. 303–304 and *Apolog. resp.
inuect. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, pp. 54–55 ll. 894–914).

   [13] Cf. Cecilia Asso, *Teologia*, p. 76. According to Reynolds and Wilson, "[i]n
doing so he exceeded the duty of an editor *as it is now understood*, and made
some mistakes in the Greek" (*Scribes and Scholars*, p. 161; emphasis added).
From Folker Siegert, *Septuaginta*, pp. 335–336, it can be seen how in Alfred
Rahlfs's LXX retranslation is employed as well in order to complete a Greek
Bible text: Dan 2:28b–29a and 6:9 LXX are reconstructed from the Syriac.
Siegert speaks about '[e]ine Kuriosität eigener Machart', and concludes: "Solches
unnötige Konjizieren würde man *heutzutage* unterlassen" (emphasis added). He
does not mention that the retranslations actually go back to Frederick Field's
Hexapla and Henri Barclay Swete's *The Old Testament in Greek*. At Dan
2:28–29 and 6:9, Field's retranslation (printed in smaller type and explained in
the notes) is taken over in Swete's apparatus and finally adopted as *txt* by Rahlfs.
The same has happened to smaller parts in other verses: 4:17ᵃ (μετὰ τῶν θηρίων
τῆς γῆς); 5 (title: καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ); 7:6 (καὶ γλῶσσα ἐδόθη
αὐτῷ); 7:19 (καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος); 8:5 (καὶ οὐχ ἥπτετο τῆς γῆς).

   [14] A striking example can be found in Erasmus' remarks on the addition in
vgᶜˡ in Acts 23:25. He writes: "I indicated that our manuscripts had one or two
verses that were not found in the Greek manuscripts. I suggested that the reader
should add them if he came across them somewhere" ("Indicavi versum unum
atque alterum in nostris haberi, qui in Graecis non inveniretur, admonens lectorem ut, sicubi reperiret, adderet"—*Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 216 ll.
414–415). In the annotation 'Timuit enim ...', Erasmus had only expressed his
opinion that the words were absent in Greek 'through forgetfulness' ('oblivione'—ASD VI–6, p. 323 app.ll. 282). In later editions, he changed his opinion

above all Erasmus' lack of interest for the book of Revelation.[15] Erasmus was clearly aware of the provisional nature of his Greek text, and even ordered the proofreaders of his second edition to supply the final words of Revelation from the Aldine edition of the Greek Bible which had just appeared on the market.[16] Since he believed that this was done, he regarded the matter as closed. His low esteem for Revelation is not only clear from the statement just cited, but also from the paucity of his annotations on it[17] as well as from remarks he made concerning its barbarous style.[18] He even concluded:

> ... there are differences even among jewels, and some gold is more pure and tested than other. Also in sacred matters, one thing is more sacred than another.[19]

With Delitzsch's finding in mind, Rudolf Pfeiffer writes that "three centuries were to elapse before it was *discovered* that there was no authority for the Greek wording [of Rev 22:16–21 TR]

(see above, p. 39 n. 40).

[15] Cf. Asso, *Teologia*, p. 75 and Irena Backus, *Apocalyps*, pp. 1–6.

[16] Erasmus writes: "Thus, when I sent the revised copy to Basle, I wrote to my friends that they should restore this place from the Aldine edition, for this work had not yet been purchased by me. It has been done as I had asked" ("Cum igitur Basileam mitterem recognitum exemplar, scripsi amicis ut ex aeditione Aldina restituerent eum locum. Nam mihi nondum emptum erat hoc opus. Id ita, ut iussi, factum est"—*Apolog. resp. invect*. Ed. *Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 55 ll. 897–899; cf. ll. 913–914). It seems Erasmus never realised that the text of the New Testament in the Aldine edition is derived from his own first edition. He may have been misled by the few instances in which its editor, Asulanus, followed Venetian manuscripts and which made the Aldine text diverge from the Erasmian.

[17] In the 1535 edition, only eight pages of annotations are dedicated to Revelation, against for instance 112 to Matthew and 102 to Romans. Otherwise stated: as can be seen from the pages of LB VI, the rate text-annotation is more than seven to one in Revelation, whereas is it more like one to seven in many other books.

[18] E.g. the annotation 'Ab eo qui est, qui erat, et qui venturus est' on Rev 1:4 (from 1516 onwards). The solecisms of the Greek text at this point were even mentioned in the list of 'solecisms let in by the translator [the Vulgate]' ('soloecismi per interpretem admissi'; NT 1519, p. 85 (p. Hh 1ʳ); NT 1522, p. C 6ʳ; *Annot*. 1527, p. Oo 2ᵛ; LB VI, p. *5ᵛ; Reeve 3, p. 12), obviously somewhat against the aim of the 'lists of deficiences' (on which see above, p. 13 n. 16).

[19] "... inter gemmas etiam nonnihil est discriminis, et aurum est auro purius ac probatius. In sacris quoque rebus, alius est alio sacratius ..." (final annotation on Rev 22:20—'Etiam venio cito'; from 1516 onwards). Backus (*Apocalyps*, p. 5) calls this 'a noncommittal note'.

except Erasmus' knowledge of the Greek language."[20] As we have seen, knowledge of Erasmus' editorial procedure was not lost but rather neglected.[21] Failure to read Erasmus' own comments or to comply with his recommendations may have done more harm than Erasmus himself. In conclusion, Erasmus treats the Greek text of the book of Revelation in a special way, at times providing Greek readings for which no manuscript source is known. This latter aspect, however, cannot properly be called conjectural emendation, especially because of the provisional nature Erasmus explicitly ascribes to his editorial work.[22] This is different in the next instance of far-reaching editorial intervention by Erasmus.

3.1.2 *Acts 9:5*

The text of Erasmus' editions contains the long Vulgate reading of Acts 9:5 (with some corrections) and a retranslation of it into Greek.[23] One may wonder why these words were introduced into the Greek text in the first place. Presumably they were felt to be missing through scribal oversight,[24] but Erasmus' annotation is not very clear on this point. Metzger, following Scrivener,[25] and

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[20] Pfeiffer, *History*, p. 77 (emphasis added).

[21] Especially Erasmus' *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei* cited above has always been available to critics.

[22] On the one hand, Erasmus did not hesitate to correct the text for the 1527 edition with readings from the Complutensian Polyglot (cf. Scrivener, *Introduction*, 2, p. 186); this correction underlines his awareness of the questionable quality of his own text, as far as Revelation is concerned. On the other hand, in line with his obvious lack of interest in the book of Revelation, he did not perform a thorough revision.

[23] Acts 9:5–6 in ASD VI–2, p. 294 (=1535): ... σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. τρέμων τὲ καὶ θαμβῶν εἶπε, Κύριε, τί με θέλεις ποιῆσαι; καὶ ὁ κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν, ... | "... Durum est tibi contra stimulos calcitrare. Is tremens ac stupens dixit: Domine, quid me vis facere? Et dominus ad eum: ..." In 1516, 'et tremens ac stupens' is retranslated as τρέμων τε καὶ θαμβῶν; probably under influence from his own Greek text, Erasmus changes 'et tremens' into 'is tremens' in 1519.

[24] Brown (ASD VI–2, p. 295 note to verses 5–6) makes mention of a caret mark in the text of min. 2815, the printer's copy, with the brief comment 'duo versus' in the upper margin. One would like to know in whose hand this comment is written. If it is not Erasmus', it would suggest a source for Erasmus' idea that these verses were to be supplied in Greek.

[25] Scrivener, *Introduction*, 2, p. 185. Metzger, TC[2], pp. 8* and 318 (TC[1], pp. xxi and 362). See also Metzger, *Text*, p. 100.

many others fail to take full notice of this annotation and the fact
that Erasmus did not take the Vulgate text, nor his own, Greek or
Latin, for granted. Others think that he acknowledged the facts
fully, and already in 1516.[26] This is not entirely true: in 1516 he
stated that the words 'Durum est tibi ...' (but where do they end?)
are not found "in (the) Greek manuscripts", but only "somewhere
below, where this matter is narrated."[27] Even the latter is rather
vague: was he referring to Acts 22:8 or 26:14?[28] We do not know
why and how the words were included in the Greek text, which
even demanded some creative retranslation.[29] In 1519, Erasmus
somewhat defended the inclusion of these words in the Greek
text, by modifying 'in (the) Greek manuscripts' to 'in most Greek
manuscripts'.[30] This unfounded addition of 'most' ('plerisque')
suggests to the reader that there exist at least some Greek manu-
scripts that contain the words. The matter became really strange

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[26] James Hardy Ropes, *Text of Acts*, p. 85: "[Erasmus] frankly indicates the
facts, *Annotationes*, p. 385"; Tregelles, *Account*, p. 23: "Acts ix. 5, 6, we find in
the annotations: 'Durum est tibi (...)' And yet in his text there is the full passage
..."

[27] "In Graecis codicibus id non additur hoc loco, cum mox sequatur *Surge*,
sed aliquanto inferius, cum narratur haec res" (in the annotation 'Durum est tibi'
on Acts 9:5—ASD VI–6, p. 240 ll. 460–461; 1516). A similar observation is
found in Valla's *Annotationes*, Garin, 1, c. 849b: "Not here, but below it is read
..." ("Non hic, sed inferius legitur ...").

[28] It may be tempting to regard the 1516 annotation not as a comment on
the well-known inclusion of the Vulgate addition in verses 5–6, but on the inclu-
sion of σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν at the end of verse 4 (cf. NA[27]), for
otherwise the expression 'aliquanto inferius' ('somewhere below') seems strange.
Clericus would then to be blamed for the misunderstanding, as in LB VI he put
the reference to the entire annotation (no. 7 of this chapter) next to the word
'durum' in verse 5, i.e. the beginning of the Erasmian inclusion. But this conjec-
ture has to be dismissed, for Erasmus' annotations in their original form are
linked to the Vulgate text through their lemmata, and the Vulgate invariably has
'durum est tibi ...' in verse 5 and not in verse 4. In this case we can even surmise
the origin of the annotation more precisely: the lemma 'Durum est tibi' probably
represents the words Erasmus underlined in his working edition of the Vulgate,
and the entire annotation, including the words 'hoc loco' was written in the
margin.

[29] For the details, see Brown's reconstruction in ASD VI–2, p. 295 note to
verses 5–6. Brown only refrains from a comment on κύριε, τί με θέλεις ποιῆ-
σαι; Here too, the Erasmian 'handiwork' is visible. In Acts 22:10, Paul asks: τί
ποιήσω, κύριε; Perhaps this aorist form ποιήσω inspired the choice of ποιῆσαι
instead of ποιεῖν (which occurs at the end of Acts 9:6), but the whole expres-
sion as such is not found in the Greek NT.

[30] The 1519 annotation begins with "In plerisque Graecis codicibus ..." (ASD
VI–6, p. 240 l. 460).

in 1522, when Erasmus added a complaint about remarks scrib-
bled in the margin by some half-learned scribe and subsequently
introduced in the text by someone even less learned.[31] This addi-
tion to the annotation can only mean that over the years Erasmus
forgot what had happened during the preparation of the 1516
edition. He had come to accept the Greek text as he had edited it
himself, assuming—as a reader of his own annotation!—that it
would probably be possible to find some Greek manuscript with
the passage. In spite of all this he reached the text-critically cor-
rect conclusion that the passage does not belong to the text and
owes its existence to an intentional scribal change.[32] Thus the
issue was given an ironical twist, for in this case, as far as the
Greek is concerned, none other than the editor or the proof-
readers of Froben's 1516 *Novum Instrumentum* is to be held re-
sponsible for it![33] In 1527, finally, Erasmus corroborated the spu-
riousness of the words by recording that they are not even firmly
established within the Vulgate tradition.[34]

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[31] See the citation above, p. 39.

[32] My reconstruction is confirmed by the remarks Erasmus makes in his *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, which clearly show that he no longer remembered what had really happened as early as in 1520: "Now that both the Greek and the Latin text are such as Lee approves of, what can there be against it that I called atten-tion to the fact that this sentence is lacking in some Greek manuscripts? What else could he surmise than that I had come across other copies later?" ("Cum contextus et Graecus et Latinus sic haberet ut probat Leus, quid obfuit, quod in annotationibus admonui particulam hanc in Graecis quibusdam codicibus ab-esse? Quid aliud suspicari potest quam me post alia nactum exemplaria?"—ASD IX–4, p. 212 ll. 289–292). To which he adds an important principle: "Neither is it invariably the case that, as Lee says, the repetition of a story corresponds on all points" ("Neque tamen perpetuum est ut, quod ait Leus, narratio repetita per omnia respondeat"—ll. 292–293). Erasmus does not demand absolute coherence between different versions of the same story.

[33] A similar but less important case is found in Acts 10:6. In 1516, the read-ing οὗτος λαλήσει σοι τί σε δεῖ ποιεῖν is included, restored from the Vulgate's "hic dicet tibi quid te oporteat facere" with the aid of the Greek text of Acts 9:6. Here too, Erasmus later arrives at the conclusion that the words are a later addi-tion (see the 1527 annotation 'Hic tibi dicet quid te oporteat facere'—ASD VI–6, p. 246 ll. 571–572; cf. Brown's note in ASD VI–2, p. 307 note to verse 6 'Hic dicet ...').

[34] Even then Erasmus still added to the confusion, for he wrote: "The older manuscripts do not have 'and he, trembling and astonished, said: Lord, what do you want me to do? And the Lord to him ...', but only 'It is hard for you to kick against the goads. I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting. Arise and go' etc." ("In vetustioribus codicibus ne haec quidem habebantur: *Et tremens ac stupens dixit: Domine quid me vis facere? Et Dominus ad eum.* Tantum est: *Durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare. Ego sum Iesus, quem tu persequeris; surge et ingre-*

In conclusion, the presence of these words in the Erasmian editions and subsequently in the whole *Textus Receptus* tradition goes back to an infelicitous decision taken in the preparation of the 1516 edition, namely to have the Greek text reflect the Latin. In this way, the indisputable irony of the case can be partly imputed to the haste with which the first edition was "rushed rather than printed."[35] Later, Erasmus was no longer aware of this decision, and while he initially defended the Greek text of his edition in a half-hearted way, he finally came to the correct conclusion that the words did not belong in the text.[36] Because of his general editorial practice not to change the Greek text he had, however, the passage remained as it was.

Even in the case of Acts 9:5–6, I would hesitate to speak of conjectural emendation. In 1516, only a sense of editorial responsibility can be surmised similar to the one we have seen at work in Revelation: the straightforward decision to emend a single manuscript in one of the many places where it is judged to be incomplete or inaccurate. In later editions of the *Textus Receptus*, the text of Acts 9:5–6 remained unaltered not because it was deemed to be a conjectural emendation supported by text-critical considerations and evidence but because it had actually come to be considered (part of the) received text in its own right.

Finally, the importance of Erasmus' editorial practice in the case of both Revelation and Acts 9 lies in its influence on the printed text of the New Testament in the West, not in the understanding of Erasmian conjectural emendation; in that respect the first place is occupied by another type of retranslation, which will be discussed in the next chapter: the many instances in which he

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dere etc"—ASD VI–6, p. 240 ll. 466–469; in ASD VI–6 the words 'Tantum est' are incorrectly marked as part of the citation). NA[27] indeed indicates some Vulgate manuscripts for this reading, but in a different order ("ego sum Iesus quem tu persequeris durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare surge et ingredere" etc.).

[35] "praecipitatum ... verius quam editum"; for this expression, see EE 402 ll. 2–3 (Ep. 402 ll. 3–5), EE 694 ll. 17–20 (Ep. 694 ll. 18–21) and *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 334 l. 524; cf. *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX, c. 1022 B–C and EE 2095 ll. 4–5; cf. de Jonge in ASD IX–2, p. 61 n.l. 24.

[36] In the case of Acts Erasmus initially supposed that the Greek manuscripts he consulted suffered from omissions, while later, having consulted more sources, he came to doubt the Vulgate additions (Acts 8:37; 9:5–6; 10:6; 14:7; 23:25; 24:6–7). At the same time, he admitted that the Greek manuscripts vary considerably in Acts (see the 1522 addition to the annotation 'Et universam in circuitu regionem' on Acts 14:6—ASD VI–6, p. 268 l. 66).

infers Greek readings from the Vulgate, but only mentions them in the *Annotationes* (see below, pp. 67–90).

3.2 "EXCESSIVE USE OF CONJECTURE TO RESTORE THE TEXT"?

In Erasmus' Greek text, a number of readings are adopted that cannot be found in any Greek manuscript, or at least not in those which Erasmus had at his disposal. Thus, on a larger scale, the printed text is the result of editorial practice such as we have seen at work in Rev 22:16–21 and Acts 9:5–6, though in most cases the peculiarities are restricted to a single word. Having studied the phenomenon in detail, the editor of ASD VI–2 identifies as part of the "real problem with Erasmus' text" "that he made excessive use of conjecture to restore the text."[37] However, as I have suggested elsewhere, a certain amount of anachronism may be involved in this judgement.[38]

To sustain this impression, the general picture that arises from Erasmus' editorial practice in John and Acts has to be studied. In John he used min. 2 and in Acts min. 2815,[39] which were corrected and marked-up as printer's copy. Both manuscripts contain many errors, which affect not only spelling (itacisms etc.) but also missing words and phrases through homoeoteleuton etc. Erasmus' complaint about the lack of 'correct copies' ('emendata exemplaria') in Basle was clearly justified.[40] He remedied these errors to the best of his ability and within the allotted time.[41] He filled the lacunae by means of other manuscripts and corrected many spelling errors, many of which involve faulty verbal forms.[42]

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[37] ASD VI–2, p. 9.

[38] See my review of ASD VI–2 in *NovT* 46 (2004), p. 195.

[39] The old Wettstein–Gregory number is 2 (or 2^{ap}).

[40] Letter to Guillaume Budé; EE 421, ll. 51–52 (Ep. 421, l. 56).

[41] Many errors were only corrected in subsequent editions, notably the second (1519).

[42] Some examples in min. 2 can be observed on plate 12 in Ernst von Dobschütz, *Einführung* (also found in CWE 3, p. 218 and as Plate XV in Metzger, *Text*), showing f. 138ʳ (which contains Luke 6:20 (τοῦ θεοῦ)—30 (παν-)); in the first three lines already, three itacisms are corrected. Further itacisms occur in ll. 10–11.20. A typical instance of a homoeoteleuton error as well as Erasmus' correction of it can be seen in l. 18. Cf. plate 2 in Aland and Aland, *Text*.

For his corrections, Erasmus used two 'sources': his knowledge of Greek and readings derived from other manuscripts. This duality, of course, corresponds nicely to the common distinction between 'emendatio ingenii ope' and 'emendatio codicum ope'. However, most of these corrections 'ingenii ope' are straightforward and they simply resolve idiosyncrasies of the manuscripts at hand. While it is true that some of these happen to diverge from all manuscript 'evidence' known today, this category cannot be treated as full-fledged conjectural emendation without differentiation. In my view, only some of these unsupported corrections are real conjectures, while most of them should simply be treated as 'mistaken corrections', a few of which are also 'arbitrary'. In other words, Brown's use of the term 'conjecture' is in itself somewhat arbitrary.

A typical example of such Erasmian 'conjectures' are the articles added before proper names, especially before Ἰησοῦς. Brown notes on John 1:48:

> Both here and at a number of other passages, the ms. evidence strongly suggests that the original Greek text did sometimes omit ὁ before Ἰησοῦς. ... Equipped with relatively fewer mss., which disagreed with one another on this point, Erasmus or his assistants seem to have concluded, mistakenly, that omissions of the article must have resulted from scribal error, and that the 'missing' words should therefore be restored. Sometimes there was limited ms. support for making such a change, but on other occasions it is probable that the article was added by arbitrary conjecture.[43]

In Erasmus' view, the difference between an article thus restored and the correction of an itacism must have been almost non-existent.[44]

Another example is the way the non-indicative modes of βάλλω are treated in the aorist tense. On John 20:27, where Erasmus

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[43] ASD VI–2, p. 28 note to verse 48 ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Thus the articles added are called 'arbitrary corrections' etc. in John 3:5; 4:13; 20:14.28, while the words '(grammatical) conjecture' are used in the case of John 7:21.39; 14:23; 18:36; cf. Acts 6:14; in other cases, (some) attestation is indicated, for instance at John 2:19; 6:29; 9:9; 11:9.20.29; 18:8.

[44] Cf. however Markland's opinion, according to which the absence of the article before Ἰησοῦς should almost always be ascribed to some accident of transcription, not to the New Testament authors themselves (see Bowyer's *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, pp. 86–87; 1812, p. 196). Erasmus never expresses such an idea.

adopted βάλλε against the manuscripts, which have βάλε, Brown
writes:

> This is a small but significant example of his use of conjectural
> emendation to prepare his Greek N.T. text. In removing the fre-
> quent errors of spelling which confronted him in cod. 2, he often
> found it easier to rely on his own grammatical knowledge for such
> corrections rather than to lose precious time by repeatedly consul-
> ting his other mss. on these smaller points. This had the unfortu-
> nate result that he sometimes altered a genuine reading, in the mis-
> taken belief that it was a scribal error.[45]

As already Delitzsch showed in his discussion of the Erasmian text
of Revelation,[46] Erasmus' otherwise good grammatical knowledge
of Greek fell short in at least two respects: the use of the (defi-
nite) article and of the aorist tense.[47] But it can be doubted wheth-
er Erasmus would have considered his editorial practice as conjec-
tural emendation, that is, the conscious introduction of readings
without manuscript support. For us, with the privilege of hind-
sight, such 'corrections' may amount to conjectural emendation
('a process of conjectural alteration of the text'), but such consid-
erations fail to take into account the necessary historical perspec-
tive on Erasmus's work.

Indeed, it seems that in cases such as βάλε/βάλλε, Erasmus was
convinced that the former, the aorist imperative, is the result of
haplography, and that it was his simple editorial duty to adopt
what he held to be the correct reading. He did not regard these
corrections as conjectural emendations and probably would not
even have changed his mind after having consulted more manu-

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[45] ASD VI–2, p. 202 note to verse 27 'immitte'. In John 8:7 Erasmus adopted
βαλλέτω, with, according to Brown, "at least ... a semblance of support from
cod. 1", instead of the common βαλέτω. Further similar changes ('arbitrary
corrections') can be found in Matt 4:6; 5:29.30; 7:5; 17:27; 18:8; Luke 4:9;
6:42; John 21:6. In John 10:4, Brown surmises that Erasmus' manual correction
ἐκβάλλει for ἐκβάλη in min. 2 was "a hasty conjectural change of spelling"
(ASD VI–2, p. 119 note to verse 4 ἐκβάλη).

[46] Cf. Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Funde*, 1, p. 55 (on the imperatives in Rev
22:17); p. 23 ("Der griech[ische] Artikel ist Erasmus' schwächste Seite") and
passim.

[47] Both shortcomings are seemingly influenced by the lack of a parallel in
Latin; they are nicely demonstrated in Erasmus's retranslation of the final verses
of Revelation (Rev 22:16–21): some twelve articles are omitted, and six out of
seven times he uses a different tense. One would expect a similar limitation in
the use of the middle voice, and indeed, some examples of this can be found, but
they are not as frequent as the other two (but cf. θαμβῶν in Acts 9:6).

scripts. Of course, Brown is correct when he implies that grammar prevails over manuscript readings, but he fails to see that this was inevitable in Erasmus's day.[48] He had to correct, for example, many instances of -σθαι and -ται into -σθε and -τε and vice versa. The problem is not the application of grammatical knowledge as part of the editorial process, but the lack of precise and correct grammatical knowledge.[49]

For the present chapter, the conclusion is that the nature of Erasmian editorial practice forces us to consider each case of unsupported readings in his editions on its own merits. A distinction has to be made between 'mechanical corrections' and 'conjectural emendation'. There may be conjectures, but this has to be argued;[50] moreover, the influence of Erasmus' proofreaders[51] and typesetters may obscure the picture to such a degree that it becomes almost impossible to reach sure conclusions.

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[48] As it sometimes is today, for in numerous instances of accentuation and word division, the manuscripts are of no avail and the editor simply has to make a decision based on exegetical insight and grammatical knowledge.

[49] Cf. Brown's note on the reading ἐγίνετο in John 5:9, where a marginal correction in min. 2 contains the word εγαινετω (ASD VI–2, p. 59 note to verse 9 ἐγίνετο). When preparing the manuscript for the press, Erasmus supplied ἐγίνετο instead of the widely attested ἐγένετο. In Brown's view, this error will show Erasmus' failure to consult other manuscripts, but one can just as well state that he failed to recognise that the context demands the aorist tense.

[50] Even the strange reading πτωχός in John 9:8 (1519–1535; instead of τυφλός 1516, from min. 2; min. 1 προσαίτης) can hardly be called a conjecture: in the preparation of the second edition Erasmus apparently confused πτωχός and προσαίτης, while correctly remembering a Greek manuscript base for Augustine's opinion that 'mendicus' is to be preferred. As a result, πτωχός could perhaps be seen as a conjecture, but another view is possible as well: as Erasmus did not bother ascertaining the exact Greek reading, he simply adopted the far more common word. So it seems that not even here Erasmus was engaged in conjectural emendation, but that he made a simple error in what he thought to be a straightforward retranslation.

[51] As Brown describes it, the proofreaders, Nikolaus Gerbel and Johannes Oecolampadius, "had a tendency to adopt from cod. 1 those readings which conformed more closely with the Latin Vulgate ..." (ASD VI–2, p. 23 note on John 1:33 'aqua ... spiritu'). Hereby Brown confirms what Erasmus writes in *Apolog. resp. inuect. Ed Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 48 ll. 726–731, and *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX, c. 1049 D (both referred to by Brown). Erasmus suspected them even to be responsible for a number of pro-Vulgate corrections unsustained by Greek manuscripts.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VULGATE

[Erasmus] clearly anticipated modern scholars by developing and employing the method of inference—Jerry Bentley[1]

Erasmus did not make a thorough recension or revision of the Greek text; he merely provided one. Although he choose to print the Greek text as he found it, with some emendations mainly from other manuscripts than the ones he used as printer's copy, he regularly raised questions about the quality of its text. Sometimes these questions became conjectures on the text. Their place, as we will see, is mostly in the annotations, not in the printed text.

An intriguing part of Erasmus' conjectural reasoning can be found in the many instances in which he inferred Greek readings on the basis of the Vulgate. This text-critical aspect of Erasmus' *Annotationes* has been mostly neglected.[2] According to my estimate he indicates Greek variants 'behind' the Vulgate text in between a hundred fifty and two hundred places. He does the same repeatedly in the case of Latin readings found in early commentaries.

4.1 Valla's example

The more or less consistent reflex to infer Greek readings on the basis of the Vulgate is one of the aspects in which Erasmus went beyond Valla's annotations, though Valla did anticipate the possibility in a few instances. In order to evaluate the particularities and problems of Erasmus' work, we have to give a short review of Valla's contribution.

In his comments on John 19:34, Valla points out that

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[1] Bentley, *Humanists*, p. 145.
[2] Bentley gives a few examples (*Humanists*, pp. 144–145), but does not seem to have noticed the true scope of Erasmus' retranslations.

the translator [the Vulgate] seems to have been misled by the simi-
larity of the words, for 'aperuit' ['he opened'] is in Greek ηνοιξε;
and now it reads ενυξε, which is 'pupugit' ['he pierced'] ...[3]

The way Valla puts this observation shows what according to him
may have happened. He tries to reconstruct and explain a reading
error made by the translator.[4] The reading found through retro-
version does not make him doubt the genuineness of his own
Greek text. His remarks on Acts 5:3 show the same approach:

In Greek, the reading is not 'tentavit' ['he led into temptation'] but
'implevit' ['he filled'], ἐπλήρωσε. I do not know whether the trans-
lator's eyes were misled by the fact that in Greek the writing of
those verbs is somewhat similar ...[5]

In like manner, he uses the similarity of two Greek readings to
infer an error by the translator at Rev 22:14:

'Blessed those who wash their clothes': In Greek, it is 'those who
do his commandments'. I think this is an error by the translator,
because there is some similarity in Greek in the verbs 'washing' and
'doing'; for in Greek 'doing' is read ποιοῦντες, and 'washing' πλύ-
νοντες, and 'stolas' ['clothes'] in Latin somewhat resembles 'com-
mandments' in Greek, ἐντολάς, in sound, and 'suas' ['his'] and
'eius' ['his'] are usually written in the same way, αὐτοῦ.[6]

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[3] "Videtur interpres deceptus similitudine dictionum, quia aperuit dicitur
Graece ηνοιξε: at nunc dicitur ενυξε, quod est 'pupugit', ..."—Garin, 1, c. 845b.
In ASD VI–2, p. 195 note to verse 34 'fodit', Brown refers to Valla's note; it is
cited by Hovingh in ASD VI–6, p. 101 n.ll. 958–959, for Erasmus actually trans-
mits Valla's retroverted reading, without however mentioning his name (see the
annotation 'Lancea latus eius aperuit'—ASD VI–6, p. 160 ll. 958–959; from
1516 onwards). Cf. Ti[8] and NA[27].
[4] Besides the normal reading ἔνυξεν the reading ἤνοιξεν is actually found in
some Greek manuscripts (cf. NA[27]).
[5] "Graece non legitur 'tentavit', sed 'implevit', ἐπλήρωσε. Nescio an inter-
pretis oculos decepit [sic; for 'deceperit'] quod Graece scriptura horum verbo-
rum nonnihil est similis ..."—Garin, 1, c. 848b. In this case, the implied Greek
reading ἐπείρασεν (actually found in $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$) is indicated by Erasmus in his annota-
tion 'Cur tentavit' on Acts 5:3 (ASD VI–6, p. 220 l. 35; 1516).
[6] "*Beati qui lavant stolas suas*. Graece est 'qui faciunt mandata eius'. Puto
erratum ab interprete: quia nonnihil similis scripturae hic et illic est Graece in
verbo 'lavantes' et 'facientes'. Sic enim legitur Graece 'facientes' ποιοῦντες, sic
'lavantes' πλύνοντες. Et 'stolas' Latine nonnihil in sono congruit cum 'praecep-
ta' Graece ἐντολάς, et 'suas' et 'eius' fere eodem modo scribitur, αὐτοῦ"—
Garin, 1, c. 895b. Valla seems to suggest that ἐντολάς was confused with the
Latin word 'stolas', not with the Greek word στολάς; he also seems to think that
'suas'—which is ambiguous—reflects αὐτοῦ, not αὐτῶν. In this case, Erasmus
refines Valla's line of reasoning.

A few other examples could be given,[7] but only once does Valla suggest that the inferred Greek reading may actually be correct.[8]

In conclusion, the possibility of explaining textual differences between Greek manuscripts and the Vulgate text by inferring a different Greek reading occurred to Valla on several occasions. Erasmus' *Annotationes* mention the same retroverted readings, without referring to Valla. It is clear that the few instances in Valla's work showed Erasmus a method of reasoning he held to be important and which he was to apply on a much larger scale.

4.2 ERASMUS' ELABORATION

The general reasoning that is involved comprises four steps, which can be explained with a relatively simple example taken from the annotation on Jude 2 ('Adimpleatur'). The first step is to make a comparison (collation) between the Vulgate and the Greek, asking whether the former reliably reflects the latter. In this example, Erasmus notes that 'adimpleatur' ('may it be made full') does not correspond to πληθυνθείη ('may it be multiplied').

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[7] On Rev 15:6 Valla remarks: "But 'stone' and 'linen' are somewhat similarly written in Greek, λίθος and λίνος" ("Est autem similis scripturae nonnihil 'lapis' et 'lignum' Graece, λίθος, λίνος"—Garin, 1, c. 895a). On 1 Cor 12:27, Valla writes on the striking difference between the Vulgate reading 'membra de membro' and the Greek μέλη ἐκ μέρους: "Perhaps the translator has been misled through carelessness, and he thought that ἐκ μέλους was written, reading λ instead of ρ" ("Forsitan interpres incuria deceptus est, quod putavit scriptum ἐκ μέλους, λ pro ρ legens"—Garin, 1, c. 867b). In this case, Erasmus points out the difference and continues: "Though Ambrose [Ambrosiaster] seems to have read ἐκ μέλους" ("Quanquam Ambrosius legisse videtur ἐκ μέλους" (in the annotation 'Membra de membro'—ASD VI–8, p. 244 l. 554; 1516)), which of course applies to the Vulgate reading as well. For Ambrosiaster, see his *Comm. epist. Paul.* a.h.l. (CSEL 81/2, p. 140 l. 23–p. 141 l. 3). Ambrosiaster, however, did not know Greek (see below, p. 73 n. 21.

[8] In 1 Cor 16:9 Valla exposes a typical relation between the Latin 'evidens' ('apparent') and the Greek ἐνεργής: the Latin reflects the Greek reading ἐναργής. This time Valla adds: "unless perhaps it should have been written thus in Greek" ("nisi forte ita scribi graece debuit"—Garin, 1, c. 869b); the reading ἐναργής, however, is unattested in Greek (cf. Ti[8]). A similar pair can be found in Phm 6; Valla writes: "ἐνεργης: it seems that 'efficax' ('effective') should have been said; for 'evidens' ('apparent') is said with change of one letter: ἐναργής" ("ἐνεργης: videtur dicendum fuisse 'efficax'; nam 'evidens' una litera mutata dicitur ἐναργής"—Garin, 1, c. 885a). Here too, ἐναργής is unattested (cf. Ti[8]). In Heb 4:12 the same pair occurs once again; here both readings are attested in Greek.

The second step is to provide the correct Latin translation of the Greek, in this case 'multiplicetur'. In a certain way, this new translation is presented as an emendation of the old one. It may be noted in passing that many annotations, especially in the first edition, contain these two steps in a succinct form, probably reflecting the original notes Erasmus made in the margin of his printed copy of the Vulgate.[9]

After having made the (obvious) emendation of the Latin, Erasmus takes a third step: he seems to ask *what the Greek would have to be in order to justify the translation found in the Vulgate*. Based on his knowledge of Greek and Latin, often especially on usage in other texts of the New Testament, he translates the Latin word back into Greek. In my example, he concludes that the Vulgate reading 'adimpleatur' reflects πληρωθείη.[10]

The retranslation of Latin into Greek involves some conjectural reasoning, the degree of which differs widely of course. Erasmus was aware of this conjecturality. He sometimes uses explicit terms such as 'coniectare' ('to infer'), 'divinare' ('to conjecture') and 'suspicari' ('to suspect');[11] moreover, his retroversions are

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[9] In this example, the annotation in the 1516 edition runs: "Adimpleatur.) πληθυνθείη, id est multiplicetur." With regard to this typical form of the annotations, which is even more frequent in the later books of the NT, it is not hard to imagine the first word underlined in Erasmus' copy of the Vulgate and the other two, the Greek original and the emendation of the Latin, jotted down in its margin.

[10] In this case, the retroversion is added in a 1527 addition. The retroversion itself is not unreasonable, as the use of πληθύνω, πληρόω, 'multiplico' and 'adimpleo' in the New Testament shows (cf. 1 Pet 1:2, where the same Greek verb is indeed translated by 'multiplicetur'). However there is no attestation of Erasmus' guess in Greek manuscripts. Moreover, he should have made the same observation twice, for the same pair occurs in 2 Pet 1:2 (the annotation on this verse, following the Venerable Bede, *In Epistolas VII Catholicas* (CCSL 121, p. 261 ll. 22–24), merely notes the difference in rendering between 2 Pet 1:2 and 1 Pet 1:2).

[11] E.g. "I come to the conclusion [or: conjecture], that the translator read something else than we do, ..." ("in *coniecturam* venio, interpretem aliud atque nos legimus, legisse ..."—in the annotation 'Et cum ascendit turba' on Mark 15:8 (emphasis added); ASD VI–5, p. 428 ll. 13–14); "I am not able to infer [or: to conjecture] in a satisfactory way what the translator read, unless ..." ("non satis queo *coniectare* quid legerit interpres, nisi forte ..."—in the annotation 'Existimante' on Luke 3:15 (emphasis added), ASD VI–5, p. 498 l. 421); "I am not able to guess what our translator read, ..." ("Nec satis queo *divinare*, quid noster legerit interpres" in the annotation 'Ut ex multarum personis facierum' on 2 Cor 1:11 (emphasis added); ASD VI–8, p. 332 ll. 108–109); "I suspect that here the translator ... read ..." ("*suspicor* hunc interpretem ... legisse"—in the

mostly introduced by the expression 'the translator seems to have read' ('interpres legisse videtur').[12]

In most instances, Erasmus does not pronounce on the text-critical value of the inferred reading, but sometimes he adds a fourth step in which he denounces it or states his preference for it.[13] At that moment the confrontation of two Latin readings, one translated from the Greek and one found in the Vulgate, is transferred to the level of text-critical evaluation of two Greek readings. The four steps, collation, translation, retroversion and text-critical evaluation, can be conveniently shown in a diagram, taking a reading in Acts 9:8 as an example (see next page).[14]
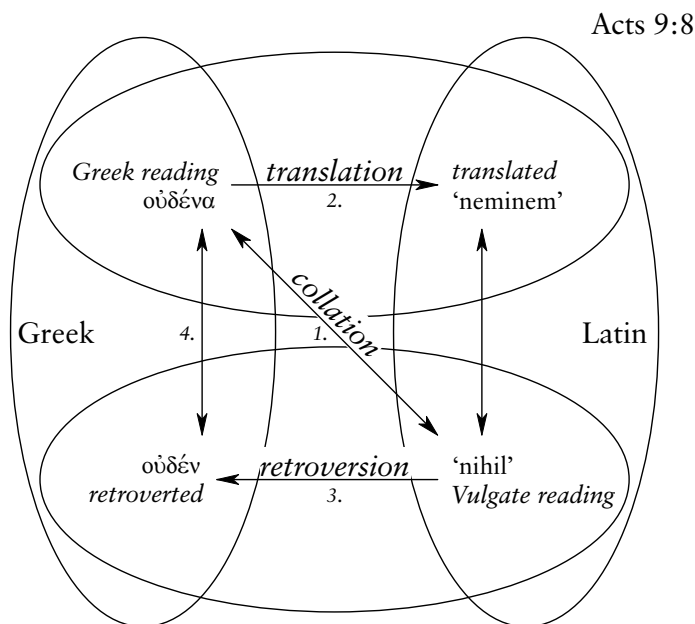
What role do these retroverted readings play in Erasmus' text-critical work on the New Testament? In order to answer this question, another issue has to be addressed first: of what nature are they? The key for understanding their nature may be found in the stock phrase Erasmus uses to introduce his observations of retroverted readings, 'the translator seems to have read' ('interpres legisse videtur'). It is important to investigate its meaning and implications. Does he indeed intend to reconstruct the probable Greek text behind the Vulgate, thereby shifting from a trans-

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annotation 'Quae est ex mortuis' on Phil 3:11 (emphasis added)); "And my conjecture did not deceive me, for thus I found it in the Spanish edition [the Complutensian Polyglot]" ("Nec me fefellit mea *divinatio*. Sic enim comperi in aeditione Hispaniensi"—in the annotation 'Et laverunt stolas suas' on Rev 7:14 (emphasis added); on the reading ἔπλυναν instead of ἐπλάτυναν). On 'divinare' and 'divinatio', see also EE 2091, ll. 99-101.110-114.

[12] The most usual alternative of 'interpres legisse videtur' is 'apparet interpretem legisse' ('it seems that the translator read'; e.g. in the annotation 'Super-seminavit' on Matt 13:25, ASD VI–5, p. 225 ll. 808–809); others are 'nisi forte interpres legit' ('unless the translator read'; e.g. in the annotation 'Et reversus est spiritus eius' on Luke 8:55—ASD VI–5, p. 528 l. 172); 'ita reor legisse interpretem' (thus the translator read in my estimation; in the annotation 'Quando desideretis' on Luke 17:22—ASD VI–5, p. 568 l. 276); 'opinor interpretem legisse' ('I suppose the translator read'; e.g. in the annotation 'Omnes etiam' on Acts 2:44—ASD VI–6, p. 206 ll. 721–722); 'interpres legit' ('the translator read'; e.g. in the annotation 'Et cogitabant interficere illos' on Acts 5:33—ASD VI–6, p. 224 l. 106; 1516). Expressions such as these are not used by Valla.

[13] E.g. Acts 3:12 ἐξουσίᾳ (instead of εὐσεβείᾳ), inferred on the basis of the Vulgate reading 'potestate' (in the annotation 'Nostra virtute aut potestate'—ASD VI–6, pp. 209–210 ll. 775–776; 1516).

[14] See the annotation 'Nihil videbat' (ASD VI–6, p. 240 ll. 474–475; 1516). Erasmus' (rather obvious) retroversion anticipates the MCT reading here. The same set of four readings can be found in the annotation 'Neque enim Pater iudicat quenquam' on John 5:22, this time occasioned by Cyprian's reading (ASD VI–6, p. 84 ll. 272–273; 1522).

Acts 9:8

Greek reading
οὐδένα   *translation*   *translated*
            2.   'neminem'

collation

Greek   4.   1.   Latin

οὐδέν   *retroversion*   'nihil'
retroverted   3.   *Vulgate reading*

lational problem to a text-critical one? Or does he point out a possible reading error by the translator? Or does he simply provide an answer to a question such as the one phrased above: which Greek text would justify this translation? Is the Greek re-translation Erasmus generously provides intended to underline the translator's error? Or is it perhaps a subtle and confusing way to refer to a Greek reading he knows from some unidentified source? The evidence from the *Annotationes* leads to different and sometimes confusing conclusions. It is therefore necessary to review this evidence at some length.

Only rarely does Erasmus follow Valla's usual line of reasoning (see above), explicitly considering the possibility of an error. In his eyes, the Vulgate reading 'cogitabant' ('they pondered') in Acts 5:33 does not agree with the Greek reading ἐβουλεύοντο ('they took counsel').[15] He comments: "The translator read ἐβού-

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[15] When the context indicates a plan to kill someone, Erasmus renders βουλεύομαι as 'consulto' ('to take counsel'; John 11:53; cf. the annotation 'Cogitaverunt ut interficerent' (ASD VI–6, p. 124 ll. 184–185); John 12:10). In other contexts, he retains 'cogito' ('to ponder'; Luke 14:31; Acts 27:39; 2 Cor 1:17).

λοντο, or at least dreamt."[16] Very similar words are used in the case of Acts 17:16, opposing the nominative 'videns' ('seeing') to the dative θεωροῦντι.[17] Somewhat more elaborate is Erasmus' reconstruction of a clear difference between the Greek reading ὁ δίκαιος ... ἐβασάνιζε and the Vulgate 'iustus ... qui ... cruciabant' in 2 Pet 2:8. Erasmus implies that the translator followed a corrupt Greek text with the reading ἐβασάνιζον, when he comments: "Corruption between ἐβασάνιζεν and ἐβασάνιζον happens easily."[18] Similarly, on the reading οὐχ ἁγνῶς in Phil 1:17 (verse 16 according to 𝔐) Erasmus writes:

> Ambrose [Ambrosiaster] reads 'non simpliciter' ['not plainly']. Perhaps his manuscript had οὐχ ἁπλῶς. When the words are so similar, an error very easily occurs.[19]

It is not necessary to surmise a reading different from οὐχ ἁγνῶς,[20] and according to Heinrich Josef Vogels Ambrosiaster did not even know Greek,[21] but again the way Erasmus puts his guess is important: (1) he assumes the presence of a written Greek reading, and (2) he explicitly presents the proximity between the known reading and the inferred one as a factor that facilitates an error.

As indicated, Erasmus does not often explicitly expose an error, but it is important to see that he can consider two types of

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[16] "Interpres ἐβούλοντο legit, aut certe somniavit" (in the annotation 'Et cogitabant interficere illos'—ASD VI–6, p. 224 l. 106; from 1516 onwards). Even if Erasmus is correct here, the translator did not dream, but followed the reading ἐβούλοντο (cf. NA[27]).

[17] In the annotation 'In ipso videns' (ASD VI–6, p. 282 ll. 396–397; from 1516 onwards). The inferred reading θεωρῶν is unattested (cf. Ti[8]); the adopted case in the Vulgate is due to translational freedom.

[18] "Facilis quidem est depravatio inter ἐβασάνιζεν et ἐβασάνιζον" (in the annotation 'Aspectu enim et auditu'; 1527). Erasmus fails to notice that the Vulgate actually supposes the reading (ἐν αὐτοῖς,) οἳ ... ἐβασάνιζον. Von Harnack, *Bedeutung der Vulgata*, pp. 42.105–106.127 upholds that this is the original reading. It seems that he does not apply the principle of the harder reading in this case.

[19] "Ambrosius legit 'non simpliciter'. Fortassis illius codex habebat οὐχ ἁπλῶς: et in tanta vocum affinitate facillimus est lapsus" (in the annotation 'Non syncere'; from 1516 onwards). Cf. Ambrosiaster, *Comm. epist. Paul.* a.h.l. (CSEL 81/3, p. 133 l. 9).

[20] Cf. LS s.v. 'simpliciter'; the pair 'simpliciter' and ἁπλῶς occurs in Prov 10:9 (vg and LXX).

[21] Vogels, *Ambrosiaster*, p. 15: "Zum griechischen Text hat Amst [Ambrosiaster] keine Verbindung, da er dieser Sprache nicht mächtig ist."

error: faulty reading by the translator and corruption of the Greek prior to translation. Another example of the first category he finds in Jas 3:7; when the Vulgate reading 'caeterorum' ('of the others') does not correspond to ἐναλίων, Erasmus writes:

> καὶ ἐναλίων, that is, 'of sea creatures'. The translator seems to have read ἄλλων, or at least he wrote 'cetorum' ['of whales'], what still exists in some manuscripts. That [reading] was changed by a yawning scribe into 'caeterorum' ['of the others'], for sea creatures such as dolphins have been tamed as well.[22]

Here Erasmus' ingenuity presents us with two (mutually exclusive) explanations,[23] as the diagram at the right shows, of which a reading error in Greek is more probable (ἄλλων for ἐναλίων).[24] In spite of Erasmus' remark, no manuscripts are known to contain 'cetorum'.[25]

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[22] "καὶ ἐναλίων, id est 'marinorum'. Interpres legisse videtur ἄλλων aut certe scripsit 'cetorum', quod ipsum adhuc in nonnullis extat codicibus. Id scriptor oscitans mutavit in 'caeterorum', nam mansuescunt et marinae belvae, ut delphines" (in the annotation 'Et caeterorum'; from 1516 onwards). The case is one of the entries in the list of 'clearly corrupted passages' ('loca manifeste depravata'; NT 1519, p. 92 (p. Hh 4ᵛ); NT 1522, p. D 3ᵛ; *Annot.* 1527, p. Oo 5ʳ; LB VI, p. *7ʳ; Reeve 3, p. 21; the wrong verse number '12' in LB VI is not corrected by Screech). For the 'lists of deficiencies', see above, p. 13 n. 16.

[23] Against Stunica, Erasmus writes a bit more clearly: "As it is ἐναλίων in Greek, it cannot be rendered by 'ceterorum' ['of the others'], and I suspect, following Valla's idea, that the translator had written 'cetorum' ['of whales'], and not 'ceterorum', or, if he had written 'coeterorum', that he had not read ἐναλίων but ἄλλων" ("Cum Graece sit ἐναλίων, non potest verti *ceterorum*, et suspicor autore Valla ab interprete scriptum fuisse cetorum, non *ceterorum*, aut si scripsit *coeterorum*, legisse non ἐναλίων, sed ἄλλων"—*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 248 ll. 359–361). Cf. de Jonge's comments in ASD IX–2, p. 249 n.l. 360: no such idea can be found in Valla's *Annotationes*.

[24] The ECM editors refrain from indicating a Greek reading on which the Vulgate would be based. Bonifatius Fischer (in Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 370) writes: "... the error can have originated in Greek (ἄλλων instead of ἐναλίων) just as well as in Latin (*ceterorum* instead of *ceterum*)" (cf. *Vetus Latina* 26.1 a.h.l. "ceterorum < cetorum *vel* < αλλων?"). Fischer and *Vetus Latina* are also indicated by de Jonge (ASD IX–2, p. 249 n.ll. 359–361), who surmises "a long chain of critics and commentators".

[25] See vgᵂᵂ a.h.l.

It is also important to notice that Erasmus sometimes imagines the physical presence of the retroverted reading in the manuscript used by the translator or by a commentator. Interestingly, most remarks that show this understanding concern Ambrosiaster's commentary on the Pauline epistles. Besides the reading οὐχ ἁπλῶς in Phil 1:17 (16) noted above, the annotations on Gal 6:11[26] and Phil 1:10[27] can be named. In 1 Tim 4:10, his Greek text reads ὀνειδιζόμεθα ('we suffer reproach'), and Erasmus "wonders what copy [Ambrose (Ambrosiaster)] followed" in reading 'persequutiones patimur' ('we endure persecutions').[28] A similar expression can be found in the case of Augustine,[29] and

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[26] The annotation on Gal 6:11 ('Qualibus literis') contains an aside on Ambrose (Ambrosiaster) and the reading ἴδετε: "I wonder why he reads 'scitote' ['you will know'] instead of 'videte' ['see'] or 'videtis' ['you see'], unless he found written εἴδετε" ("... miror quare idem pro 'videte' sive 'videtis' legat *scitote*, nisi forte scriptum habebat εἴδετε" (cf. Ambrosiaster, *Comm. epist. Paul.* a.h.l. (CSEL 81/3, p. 65 l. 20)). The retranslation is dubious, as it links the indicative future 'scitote' with the indicative aorist εἴδετε. Erasmus' desire to have a word that resembles ἴδετε as closely as possible—actually no more than an itacistic confusion is involved—leads him astray. Otherwise he could have indicated ἴστε. The formulation 'scriptum habebat' is important: it shows that he actually imagines the existence of the Greek reading, written in the manuscript used by Ambrosiaster (but cf. above, p. 73 n. 21).

[27] In the annotation 'Potiora' on Phil 1:10 (emphasis added): "Ambrose [Ambrosiaster] reads 'things that are advantageous'. I suspect *that his manuscript had written* συμφέροντα instead of διαφέροντα" ("Ambrosius legit utilia. Suspicor illius codicem habuisse scriptum συμφέροντα pro διαφέροντα"; from 1516 onwards; cf. Ambrosiaster, *Comm. epist. Paul.* a.h.l. (CSEL 81/3, p. 132 l. 14)). Even if Ambrosiaster used a Greek manuscript, the idea itself would not be very likely, and in a later edition Erasmus nuances this view, without however retracting these remarks.

[28] "miror quod nam sequutus exemplar" (in the annotation 'Et maledicimur'; from 1516 onwards). Cf. Ambrosiaster, *Comm. epist. Paul.* a.h.l. (CSEL 81/3, p. 275 ll. 17–18). One senses that Erasmus could not find the Greek reading that Ambrosiaster 'legisse videtur'. The Latin tradition followed by Ambrosiaster reflects ἀγωνιζόμεθα (= MCT; cf. NA[27] and Col 1:29). Ti[8] (probably incorrectly) mentions Ambrosiaster as following the reading ὀνειδιζόμεθα.

[29] Rom 12:2 (in the annotation 'Quae sit voluntas dei bona et beneplacens et perfecta'). The question is whether τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθόν etc. is one expression or two (cf. KJV "what *is* that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God" and NAB "discern what is the will of God, what is good and pleasing and perfect"). Augustine follows the second interpretation (see CWE 56, p. 325 n. 3; cf. Ti[8]), but Erasmus does not realise at first that the Greek allows it, and writes: "It is hard to know what copy Augustine was following when he read as follows ..." ("Mirum quod exemplar sequutus Augustinus legit ad hunc modum ..."; 1519; translation CWE 56, p. 324). Cf. the annotation 'Non praeveniemus eos qui dormierunt' on 1 Thes 4:15, in which Erasmus supposes "that in some Greek manuscripts προκοιμηθέντας was written" ("... in nonnullis Graecis codi-

only once in the case of the Vulgate,[30] when in Rom 5:6 Erasmus confronts the readings ἔτι and 'ut quid':

> It appears that the codex the Translator followed had εἰς τί, that is, 'to what end?' Either sense is tolerable.[31]

This way of putting it shows what he imagines in this case: a real Greek reading existing in the manuscript used by the translator. If Erasmus infers a Greek reading on the basis of the Vulgate, he may suppose its physical existence in the translator's working documents. It does however not seem likely that he does so in all cases.

Just as we see in the case of Rom 5:6, Erasmus sometimes indicates that both readings are acceptable, the one he knows directly as well as the inferred one. He does so in the case of Acts 2:22[32], Acts 27:19[33], Rom 7:13[34] and 1 Cor 13:7.[35] In several instances,

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cibus scriptum fuisse προκοιμηθέντας"—from 1519 onwards), on the basis of Augustine's reading 'qui ante dormierunt' ('those who have slept before'—see *Epist*. 193, CSEL 57, p. 173, l. 21; *Dulc*. 3.3, CCSL 44A, p. 277 ll. 47–48; *Civ*. 20.20, CCSL 48, p. 733 l. 8). Erasmus' idea is not very critical, for 'ante' is a purely exegetical addition, and it can even be doubted whether τοὺς προκοιμηθέντας is the correct retranslation of 'qui ante dormierunt'.

   [30] In the annotation 'Iovisque prolis' on Acts 19:35, Erasmus' intricate discussion contains the remark on the Vulgate translator: "whose book perhaps did not have the article τοῦ added" ("cuius liber fortasse non habebat additum articulum τοῦ"—ASD VI–6, p. 300 l. 788; added in 1522).

   [31] "Apparet codicem quem secutus est interpres habuisse εἰς τί, id est, ad quid? Uterque sensus est tolerabilis" (in the annotation 'Ut quid enim'; from 1516 onwards; translation CWE 56, p. 133). Erasmus is probably correct in this conjecture on the reading 'behind' the Vulgate (cf. Ti⁸), though the basis on which it can be inferred is rather small. The Vulgate reading 'ut quid' reflects ἱνατί in Matt 9:4; 27:46; Luke 13:7; Acts 7:26; 1 Cor 10:29; it reflects τί in 1 Cor 15:29.30; it reflects εἰς τί in Matt 26:8=Mark 14:4; Mark 15:34. The Greek reading εἰς τί is translated as 'quare' in Matt 14:31 and as 'in quo' in Acts 19:3.

   [32] Acts 2:22: ἀποδεδειγμένον and ἀποδεδεγμένον, inferred from 'approbatum' (incorrect; in the annotation 'Virum approbatum'—ASD VI–6, p. 203 ll. 634–635; 1527).

   [33] Acts 27:19: ἐρρίψαμεν and ἔρριψαν, inferred from 'proiecerunt' (in the annotation 'Suis manibus armamenta navis proiecerunt'—ASD VI–6, p. 340 ll. 730–731; 1516).

   [34] Rom 7:13: κατεργαζομένη and κατεργάζετο, inferred from 'operatum est' (unnecessary; in the annotation 'Operatum est mihi'; 1535).

   [35] 1 Cor 13:7: στέγει and στέργει, inferred from Cyprian's 'diligit' (not attested; in the annotation 'Omnia suffert'—ASD VI–8, p. 260 ll. 858–860; 1519; cf. Bentley, *Humanists*, p. 145). For this reading 'diligit', Erasmus refers to *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate* (the older title being *De simplicitate praelatorum*; see ASD VI–8, p. 261 n.ll. 857–858 and n.l. 858), to wit *Unit. eccl.* 14

he goes even further and expresses a clear preference for the inferred reading, thereby accepting indirect instead of direct 'evidence'. Examples can be found in his annotations on Luke 9:42[36], Luke 24:47[37], John 7:52[38], Acts 2:1[39], Acts 3:12[40], Acts 25:2[41], Rom 15:14[42] and 2 Cor 1:4.[43] In John 14:17, a subtle change in the annotation may even be revelatory of a changing view of the text-critical value of the Vulgate. Erasmus notes:

> It is 'he stays', μένει, unless we would read μενεῖ with a change of accent.[44]

(CCSL 3, p. 259 l. 349; erroneously given by Wettstein, *NTG*, as *Unit. eccl.* 12). As Wettstein indicates, the same reading 'diligit' can be found in *Ad Quirinium* (*Test*. III.3 (CCSL 3, p. 90 l. 26)).

[36] Luke 9:42: ἔρριψεν (not attested), inferred from 'elisit', instead of ἔρρηξεν (in the annotation 'Elisit eum daemonium et dissipavit'—ASD VI–5, p. 530 ll. 239–240; 1516).

[37] Luke 24:47: ἀρξαμένων, inferred on the basis of the Vulgate ablative absolute 'incipientibus', instead of ἀρξάμενον (𝔐) (in the annotation 'Incipientibus'—ASD VI–5, p. 604 ll. 222–224; 1516). Cf. NA[27]; it is however doubtful whether the Latin tradition can really be counted as evidence for the reading ἀρξαμένων, for the ablative absolute 'incipientibus' can very well be the result of translational difficulties.

[38] John 7:52: 'non surgit', instead of ἐγήγερται (𝔐), without inferring explicitly the reading ἐγείρεται (MCT; in the annotation 'Ex Galilaea propheta non surgit'—ASD VI–6, p. 102 ll. 692–693; 1535).

[39] Acts 2:1: ὁμαδόν, inferred from 'pariter', instead of ὁμοθυμαδόν (in the annotation 'Erant omnes pariter'—ASD VI–6, p. 197 ll. 474; 1527). The idea is correct, but its execution probably not (cf. NA[27]); ὁμαδόν does not occur elsewhere in the NT, whereas ὁμοῦ (MCT) is known from John. Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.) simply gives ὁμαδόν as a variant reading 'supported' by Erasmus.

[40] Acts 3:12: ἐξουσία, inferred from 'potestate', instead of εὐσεβείᾳ (in the annotation 'Nostra virtute aut potestate'—ASD VI–6, pp. 209–210 ll. 775–776; 1516; cf. NA[27]).

[41] Acts 25:2: ἐνετύχησαν, inferred from 'adierunt', instead of ἐνεφάνισαν (in the annotation 'Adieruntque eum principes sacerdotum'—ASD VI–6, p. 329 ll. 463; 1519). Cf. Acts 25:24 ἐνέτυχον: the peculiar mix of first and second aorist forms Erasmus proposes is of course incorrect.

[42] Rom 15:14: ἀλλήλους, inferred from 'alterutrum', instead of ἄλλους (𝔐) (in the annotation 'Ita ut possitis alterutrum'; 1519). In this rare instance the inferred reading is actually adopted (in 1519), probably because it was confirmed by min. 3; later Erasmus changed his opinion, see *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, c. 1012 E–F, but not his text.

[43] 2 Cor 1:4: καὶ αὐτοί, inferred from 'et ipsi', instead of αὐτοί (in the annotation 'Consolamur (sic) et ipsi'—ASD VI–8, p. 328 l. 31; 1519; cf. NA[27]).

[44] " 'Manet' est, μένει, nisi mutato accentu legamus μενεῖ" (in the annotation 'Apud vos manebit'; from 1516 onwards—ASD VI–6, p. 138 l. 461; cf. NA[27]). NB: the Latin future tense ('manebit') cannot be regarded as an indirect 'witness' of the inferred reading μενεῖ, for it probably attests the interpretative decision taken by the translator, who had to disambiguate the unaccented

In his last two editions, Erasmus changed the words 'unless we *would read* [legamus] μενεῖ' into 'unless we *read* [legimus] μενεῖ' (emphasis added). Though I (would) hesitate to read too much into it, this change may be considered a small sign that Erasmus had become more willing to accept the Greek readings he infers on the basis of the Vulgate text. He began by explaining the Vulgate reading, whether it was erroneous or not, and ended up presenting the inferred reading as at least an equal alternative.

In another instance, the quality of the inferred reading makes him assume textual corruption in the Greek transmission. In 2 Pet 2:13, his collation brings together ταῖς ἀπάταις ('deceptions') and 'conviviis' ('banquets'), a rather large difference, which he explains as follows:

> The translator seems to have read ἀγάπαις instead of ἀπάταις. When the copyist did not understand 'agape', which expresses 'love' in Greek, but is sometimes used for 'banquet', he suspected that the place was corrupt and corrected it into ἀπάταις.[45]

Whether 2 Pet 2:13 should read ἀπάταις or ἀγάπαις is an interesting problem, but Erasmus' theory, according to which a copyist who was not familiar with ἀγάπη in the meaning 'fellowship meal' changed ἀγάπαις into ἀπάταις, is not very convincing.[46] The important point, however, is that Erasmus can explicitly prefer Greek readings he infers on the basis of the Vulgate.

Even when Erasmus uses expressions such as 'the translator seems to have read', it is not always certain that he has found the Greek reading by retroversion only. In some cases, he may know

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ΜΕΝΕΙ.

[45] "Interpres pro ἀπάταις legisse videtur ἀγάπαις. Porro cum librarius non intelligeret 'agapen', quod Graece sonat 'charitatem', aliquoties usurpari pro 'convivio', suspicans locum esse mendosum, correxit ἀπάταις" (in the annotation 'In conviviis suis'; from 1522 onwards). As he indicates himself, Erasmus knows ἀγάπαις from Jude 12.

[46] While Erasmus suspects an intentional scribal error, von Harnack defends ἀγάπαις by supposing an unintentional error: "Das ἀπάταις ist einfach als ein sehr alter Schreibfehler zu beurteilen, der sich nur deshalb zu verbreiten vermochte, weil er zur Not einen Sinn gab" (*Bedeutung der Vulgata*, p. 110; cf. pp. 43.109.127). Metzger (TC², p. 634; TC¹, p. 704) assumes only conscious alteration of the expression ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν as found in Jude 12 by the author of 2 Pet; this line of reasoning does not address von Harnack's argument that ἀπάταις is similar enough to ἀγάπαις to arise as a scribal error of it. See also Nestle, *Einführung* (1899), pp. 258-259.

of manuscripts that confirm his tentative retroversion,[47] and in some others, he may even conceal some strange decisions taken during the preparation of the 1516 edition by mentioning the correct reading as the one reflected by the Vulgate.[48]

4.3 TRANSCRIPTIONAL PROXIMITY

Besides the occasional use of manuscript evidence, Erasmus uses a rather simple method in finding his retroverted readings, that is, 'transcriptional probability',[49] or perhaps better in his case, 'transcriptional proximity': like Valla, he looks for a Greek word that differs only slightly from the one he finds attested in the manuscripts. This procedure resembles the way many true conjectures are found (or made). In Jas 2:18, for instance, the striking difference between the (Byzantine) reading ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σου ('on the basis of your works') and the Vulgate's 'sine operibus' ('without works') prompts Erasmus to infer the reading ἐκτὸς τῶν ἔργων.[50] The apparently strange choice of ἐκτός instead of χωρίς (cf. MCT

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[47] E.g. Luke 17:22 (annotation 'Quando desideretis'; 1527—ASD VI–5, p. 568 ll. 275–276): ἐπιθημήσητε, inferred from 'desideretis', is found in min. 1; Acts 7:8 (annotation 'Et sic genuit Isaac'—ASD VI–6, p. 228 ll. 218–219; 1519): οὕτως, inferred from 'sic', is found among others as the original reading of min. 2815, one of the manuscripts used as printer's copy; Acts 24:10 (annotation 'Annuente sibi praeside'—ASD VI–6, p. 324 ll. 351; 1516): αὐτῷ, inferred from 'sibi' is also found in min. 2815; 1 Tim 6:9 (annotation 'Et inutilia'; 1516): ἀνονήτους, inferred from 'inutilia' is also found in min. 2815.

[48] E.g. Phil 3:11 (annotation 'Si quo modo'; 1516): εἴπως, inferred from 'si quo modo', is the normal reading; Col 4:12 (annotation 'Ut stetis perfecti'; 1519): στῆτε, inferred from 'stetis', is the 𝔐 reading; 2 Thes 3:6 (annotation 'Quam acceperunt'; 1535): παρέλαβον, inferred from 'acceperunt' is the 𝔐 reading, whereas Erasmus' παρέλαβεν is hardly attested; 2 Pet 2:2 (annotation 'Eorum luxurias'; 1522): ἀσελγείαις is derived from information given by Stunica, but nevertheless presented as an inferred reading (from 'luxurias'; cf. below).

[49] The term 'transcriptional probability' derives from Westcott and Hort, 'Introduction', pp. 20.22–30; in Hort's terms, it concerns the question "what copyists are likely to have made [an author] seem to write" (p. 20) and deals with "the relative fitness of each [rival reading] for explaining the existence of the others" (p. 22).

[50] In the annotation 'Sine operibus'; from 1516 onwards.

and verse 20) is certainly due to the desire to stay as close as pos-
sible to the attested Greek reading.[51]

A more complicated example is found in 2 Pet 2:2. Erasmus'
first edition contains a clear error, for instead of ἀσελγείαις ('li-
centiousness') the unattested ἀπωλείαις ('destructions') is printed,
probably inadvertently taken over from the preceding verse.[52]
Thus a clear contrast with the Vulgate reading 'luxurias' ('extra-
vagances') arises, which is explained in the annotation:

> ἀπωλείαις, that is, 'destructions' or 'perditions'. The translator
> seems to have read ἀσωτίαις. However the Greek copies agree.[53]

The only thing—besides the translation of ἀπωλείαις—that is
correct in this annotation is the impression that the translator did
not read ἀπωλείαις. Erasmus' text and annotation are criticised
by Stunica, who also indicates the normal reading ἀσελγείαις.[54]
Erasmus' reaction is typical:

> As in Greek it was ἀπωλείαις, I had translated 'pernicies' ['destruc-
> tions'] instead of 'luxurias' ['extravagances']. I add the inference
> that the translator perhaps read ἀσωτίαις, a word which appro-

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[51] The passage is complicated, however, because one would expect σὺ ἔργα
ἔχεις, κἀγὼ πίστιν (Otto Pfleiderer's conjecture; see *Urchristentum*, 2, p. 547 n.
**) instead of σὺ πίστιν ἔχεις, κἀγὼ ἔργα. In that case there would be a more
logical connection between the words of James' virtual opponent and James'
answer: "You rely on works, but I rely on faith" is answered by "Your faith
cannot be worth anything without works, whereas mine is clear from my
works." Erasmus' preference for the Byzantine text over the Vulgate and its
Vorlage makes it difficult for him to grasp the point of the passage. According to
him, the Vulgate reading 'without works' does not make sense, "for faith can be
demonstrated only through acts" ("nam fides ostendi non potest, nisi factis").
But that is exactly the point James is trying to make! The Byzantine reading ἐκ
τῶν ἔργων σου can be explained as an accommodation to the confusing words
σὺ πίστιν ἔχεις, κἀγὼ ἔργα. In 1522, Erasmus states correctly: "James rejects
both expressions" ("Iacobus utriusque sermonem refellit"), i.e. 'faith without
works' and 'works without faith'. So he was not satisfied with his earlier
remarks, but he did not reconsider the text-critical decisions that are involved.
Cf. *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 270 ll. 775–794.

[52] De Jonge writes (ASD IX–2, p. 251 n.l. 418): "It is possible ... that there is
no ms. evidence for Er[asmus]' ἀπωλείαις whatsoever. The reading may have
originated as an ordinary mistake, consisting in a repetition of ἀπώλειαν, the last
word of the previous verse." The reading ἀπωλείαις even remained part of the
TR.

[53] "ἀπωλείαις, id est 'exitia' sive 'perditiones'. Interpres legisse videtur ἀσω-
τίαις, sive ἀσελγείαις. Tametsi Graeca exemplaria consentiunt" (annotation
'Eorum luxurias'; from 1516 onwards).

[54] According to Stunica, "Erasmus makes a wrong conjecture" ("Perperam
divinat Erasmus"; cf. ASD IX–2, p. 252 l. 428).

priately means 'extravagance', and is not far off from ἀπωλίαις, indeed only two small letters.[55]

Here Erasmus explicitly states the criterion of transcriptional proximity.[56] Interestingly, he only slightly revises his annotation, and incorporates the reading indicated by Stunica in a somewhat misleading way:

> ἀπωλείαις, that is, 'destructions' or 'perditions'. The translator seems to have read ἀσωτίαις, *or ἀσελγείαις.* However the Greek copies, *as far as I saw them,* agree.[57]

Transcriptional proximity is of course closely related to textual corruption, but surprisingly Erasmus only rarely uses it to establish corruption—which is why 'proximity' as a more neutral term is preferable to 'probability' here. In the annotation on Phm 7, Erasmus provides a relatively simple retroversion of 'gaudium' ('joy'): "The translator read χαράν, ..."[58] He even prefers this reading over χάριν (𝔐), and adds:

> ... for when words are so similar we can often notice that scribes go wrong.[59]

Usually, when Erasmus cannot find a retroversion that is sufficiently close, he refrains from using expressions such as 'the

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[55] "Quoniam in Graecis erat ἀπωλείαις, verteram *pernicies* pro *luxurias.* Addo coniecturam *interpretem* forte *legisse* ἀσωτίαις, quae vox proprie significat "luxuriam" nec multum abest ab ἀπωλίαις, nimirum duabus tantum litterulis" (*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.,* ASD IX–2, pp. 250.252 ll. 418–421).

[56] Cf. Rev 15:6 (annotation 'Vestiti lapide mundo et candido'): Erasmus' Greek text has λίνον, but the Latin 'lapide' ('stone') leads him to infer the Greek reading λίθον (1516); cf. Ti[8] and NA[27]. In this case, Erasmus insists on the difference of only one letter between the two readings, but he does not pronounce himself on the direction of the textual 'corruption'. Erasmus' remark is anticipated by Valla (see Garin, 1, c. 895a), whom he does not mention. Erasmus often mentions Valla's name, but as van Poll–van de Lisdonk points out, he also drew on Valla's annotations without referring to them (ASD VI–8, p. 25).

[57] "ἀπωλείαις, id est 'exitia' sive 'perditiones'. Interpres legisse videtur ἀσωτίαις, *sive ἀσελγείαις.* Tametsi Graeca exemplaria, *quae sane viderim,* consentiunt" ('sive ἀσελγείαις' added in 1522 (not noticed by Reeve); 'quae sane viderim' added in 1519; emphasis added). ἀπωλείαις is spelled ἀπολείαις in 1535.

[58] "Interpres legit χαράν, ..." (in the annotation 'Gaudium enim magnum habui, et consolationem'; from 1516 onwards). The retroversion is so obvious that a word such as 'videtur' ('he seems') is left out.

[59] "..., quod in huiusmodi vocum affinitatibus passim labi comperiamus notarios" (added in 1519).

translator seems to have read';[60] he sometimes simply writes: 'I wonder what the translator read',[61] thereby indicating his failure to detect a feasible retranslation.[62]

The examples in the following table may show the typical scope of transcriptional proximity in the Erasmian retroversions.

	Greek as found	Greek as inferred	Vulgate reading
Luke 14:17	ἔρχεσθε	ἔρχεσθαι	ut venirent
Acts 17:3	παρατιθέμενος	παρεντιθέμενος	insinuans
Acts 19:33	προεβίβασαν	προεβίασαν	detraxerunt
Acts 27:27	προσάγειν	προσαυγεῖν	apparere
Rom 5:6	ἔτι	εἰς τί	ut quid
Rom 6:5	ἀλλά	ἅμα	simul
2 Cor 5:10	τὰ διά	τὰ ἴδια	propria
2 Cor 10:13	ἐμέρισεν	ἐμέτρησεν	mensus est
1 Thes 2:7	ἤπιοι	νήπιοι	parvuli
2 Thes 3:16	τρόπῳ	τόπῳ	loco
1 John 4:2	γινώσκετε	γινώσκεται	cognoscitur

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[60] E.g. Acts 10:16 (annotation 'Et statim receptum est'; ASD VI–6, p. 248 ll. 612–613): while Erasmus' Greek text has πάλιν ('rursus'), the Vulgate's 'statim' reflects εὐθύς (= MCT), but Erasmus refrains from indicating it because there is no similarity between πάλιν and εὐθύς. On 1 Cor 6:19, where the Vulgate has 'membra' ('members'), Erasmus writes: "The Greek is not μέλη, but σώματα ..." ("Graece non est μέλη, sed σώματα ..."; in the annotation 'An nescitis quoniam membra vestra templum sunt'; ASD VI–8, p. 116 l. 312; from 1516 onwards). Only the striking difference is noted; it cannot be said that 'the translator seems to have read'.

[61] E.g. on 2 Pet 3:17 (annotation 'Ne insipientium etc.'): in 1516, Erasmus simply provides the correct translation of τῶν ἀθέσμων (in τῇ τῶν ἀθέσμων πλάνῃ συναπαχθέντες): instead of 'insipientium' ('the foolish'), it should be 'nefariorum' ('the wicked'). The same word is translated as 'nefandorum' in 2 Pet 2:7. In a 1527 addition, Erasmus writes: "I wonder what the translator read when he translated 'insipientium' " ("Miror quid legerit interpres qui vertit *insipientium*"). He does not provide an answer to this question, and it is actually not easy to explain the Vulgate reading; 'insipiens' serves as translation of ἄφρων, ἀνόητος, ἄσοφος, ἀσύνετος, none of which resembles ἄθεσμος, and to surmise a triple chain ἀθέσμων—ἀνόμων—ἀνόητων would be too complicated.

[62] In Luke 1:17 the transcriptional proximity is rather loose: Erasmus notes the difference between κατεσκευασμένον ('prepared') and 'perfectam' ('completed') and remarks in 1535 that "our translator seems to have read κατηρτισμένον" ("Interpres noster legisse videtur κατηρτισμένον"—ASD VI–5, p. 456 l. 330). In this case, no Greek variant reading (other than κατασκευασμένον) seems known. The Greek verb Erasmus proposes may be inspired by Luke 6:40, 1 Cor 1:10 and 2 Cor 13:11, the only cases in the New Testament in which the Vulgate 'perfectus' etc. reflects a form of κατ-αρτίζω.

| Rev 22:14 | οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολάς | οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολάς | qui lavant stolas suas |

As can be seen, mostly only one or two letters are involved, and sometimes even no more than an itacism[63] or a change of accents.[64]

The desire to respect the transcriptional proximity in retroverted readings sometimes leads to remarkable errors, when the inferred word is extremely rare, non-existent or grammatically impossible. In Rom 15:6, the Greek text invariably has the adverb ὁμοθυμαδόν, but the Vulgate has the adjective 'unanimes' instead of an adverb such as 'unanimiter'. Erasmus, failing to notice this freedom of translation, retroverts it as ὁμόθυμοι,[65] a very rare adjective compared to ὁμοθυμαδόν. If ὁμόθυμοι is still possible, an inferred reading in Rom 15:14 clearly exceeds the boundaries of Greek vocabulary. The Greek text, both TR and MCT, has ἀγαθωσύνης; Erasmus, already in 1516, notes the difference with the Vulgate's 'dilectione' ('love') and writes: "The translator seems to have read ἀγαπωσύνης."[66] This is remarkable, for such a Greek word ἀγαπωσύνη does not exist; it is not even conceivable,

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[63] Cf. Erasmus' own remark on the similarity of ζηλοῦσθαι and ζηλοῦσθε (an inferred reading in Gal 4:18): "Nor can 'to be zealous' and 'be zealous' be distinguished by the sound of the Greek words" ("Nec sono vocis distingui possunt Graecis 'aemulari' et 'aemulamini' "; in the 1519 addition to the annotation 'Bonum autem aemulamini in bono' on Gal 4:18).

[64] At 1 Cor 9:8 Erasmus states that Ambrose (Ambrosiaster) read ταῦτά instead of ταῦτα, because of his translation 'eadem' ('the same') (in the annotation 'An non et lex haec dicit'—ASD VI–8, p. 202 ll. 800–801; from 1516 onwards). In Ambrosiaster, *Comm. epist. Paul.*, CSEL 81/2, p. 98 l. 22, the editor, Vogels, gives 'an et lex haec {eadem} dicit'. The brackets indicate that the word 'eadem' is added in recension γ, to which the manuscript used by Amerbach for the *editio princeps* (1492) also belongs (see CSEL 81/1, p. XIX and CSEL 81/2, p. VIII). According to Vogels this γ recension may represent a revision by the author himself, in which case Ambrosiaster himself added 'eadem'. The assumption of him having recourse to the Greek is unnecessary—he did not even know Greek—; he simply clarified the text, thereby realising without knowing it an editorial alternative hidden in the Greek reading ταυτα. Erasmus' close reading makes this alternative explicit. It is recorded in the Nestle apparatus (N¹³–NA²⁵) under Bowyer's name (see *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 333; 1812, p. 472). It is also mentioned by Beza (from his second edition (1565) onwards).

[65] In the annotation 'Ut unanimes' (in the 1519 addition).

[66] "Interpres legisse videtur ἀγαπωσύνης" (in the annotation 'Pleni estis dilectione'; from 1516 onwards).

though this would have been hard for Erasmus to know.[67] In modern editions, the Latin versions are listed among the 'witnesses' for the reading ἀγάπης (in F G). With his reading ἀγαπωσύνης Erasmus tries to explain the origin of the discrepancy and infers a Greek reading which is as close as possible to the reading he knows. As he does not elaborate on his short remark, one can only speculate as to whether he assumes the reading ἀγαπωσυνῆς to exist physically in the Greek manuscript of the Vulgate translator, or only as an error of reading in the latter's mind.[68] In 1 Cor 6:2, the Vulgate has 'iudicabitur' ('he will be judged'), and Erasmus stresses that κρίνεται is written, not κρινεῖται.[69] The form κρινεῖται must be seen as the retroversion of 'iudicabitur', although Erasmus does not use his stock expression here. The intended future form κρινεῖται, however, is not correct. Instead of this middle, it should be the passive κριθήσεται (cf. Rom 2:12).[70] Erasmus' error is a combination of two factors: he likes to make a point by showing the importance of a small, subtle difference and he lacks precise knowledge of this verb's paradigm.[71]

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[67] Nouns on -σύνη are invariably formed out of adjectives, e.g. (the most frequent) ἀγαθωσύνη (ἀγαθός), ἁγιωσύνη (ἅγιος), ἀγνωμοσύνη (ἀγνώμων), ἀκτημοσύνη (ἀκτήμων), ἀσχημοσύνη (ἀσχήμων), ἀφροσύνη (ἄφρων), δικαιοσύνη (δίκαιος), εὐγνωμοσύνη (εὐγνώμων), εὐφροσύνη (εὔφρων), ἐλεημοσύνη (ἐλεήμων), ἱερωσύνη (ἱερός), μνημοσύνη (μνήμων), μεγαλωσύνη (μέγας), παραφροσύνη (παράφρων), σωφροσύνη (σώφρων), ταπεινοφροσύνη (ταπεινόφρων), φιλοφροσύνη (φιλόφρων). In Bowyer's *Critical Conjectures*, Erasmus' suggestion meets only some mild criticism ("we have no authority for the word"—1782, p. 318; 1812, p. 457).

[68] Cf. the ambiguity of the phrase 'interpres *legisse* videtur' ('the translator seems *to have read*') and indeed of the term 'reading' itself.

[69] In the annotation 'De hoc mundo iudicabunt' (ASD VI–8, p. 106 ll. 137–138; from 1516 onwards).

[70] The direct context should also be considered. With the Vulgate, Erasmus takes the first instance of κρίνω in verse 2 as the future form κρινοῦσιν (cf. NA[27] cr. app.); he does not even mention the possibility of the present tense κρίνουσιν, apparently because of the agreement between κρινοῦσιν and 'iudicabunt', whereas the following 'iudicabitur' and κρίνεται obviously disagree. The third instance, κρινοῦμεν in verse 3, can only be understood as a future form.

[71] Only the form κρινοῦμαι is now known (Euripides, *Medea* 609 and Plato, *Gorgias* 521 e). Perhaps Erasmus knows the not unusual (attic) form ἀποκρινεῖται (besides ἀποκριθήσεται) from Chrysostom (e.g. *Hom. Rom.* (PG 60, p. 651)). A similar case is found in the annotation 'Ignorat, ignorabitur' on 1 Cor 14:38 (ASD VI–8, p. 282 ll. 310–312): Ambrosiaster's reading 'ignorabitur' ('he will not be known'; cf. Ambrosiaster, *Comm. epist. Paul.* a.h.l. (CSEL 81/2, p. 162 ll. 8–11)) makes Erasmus infer ἀγνοήσεται instead of ἀγνοείτω (MCT has ἀγνοεῖται), where one would expect the passive voice ἀγνοηθήσεται instead

In Mark 15:8, Erasmus confronts 'cum ascendit' ('ascending') and ἀναβοήσας ('crying out'). The Vulgate reading reflects ἀναβάς, as we now know, but Erasmus infers ἀναβήσας, which does not exist as a first aorist form of ἀναβαίνω.[72] The role of transcriptional proximity in the choice of ἀναβήσας is obvious. Other, similar errors could be named as well,[73] but their thrust will be clear by now: lack of precise knowledge, coupled perhaps with a desire for scholarly display, can lead Erasmus astray in his retroversions.[74]

In some rare instances, the retroversion becomes a real starting point for conjectural emendation. In his discussion of Phil 3:15

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of the middle voice ἀγνοήσεται. The former is indeed far more frequent, but perhaps Erasmus knows the latter from Lucian, *Jupp. trag.* 5, l. 15 (the *Scholia in Lucianum* 21.5, l. 1 even indicate: ἀγνοήσεται· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγνοηθήσεται). Interestingly, Erasmus elsewhere comments on his method as follows: "I mention in my notes that Ambrose had a different text, and *from his Latin reading I guess what he read in Greek*, namely ἀγνοήσεται ('he will not be known') instead of ἀγνοείτω ('let him not know')" ("... in annotationibus admoneo, secus legere Ambrosium, atque *ex illius Latina lectione divino quid Graece legerit*, videlicet pro ἀγνοείτω, ἀγνοήσεται"—*Apolog. c. Iac. Latomi dialog.*, LB IX, c. 88 E (emphasis added); translation after CWE 71, p. 53 (where 'lectione' is rendered as 'version' and 'quid Graece legerit, videlicet' as 'that his Greek text read'; moreover, ἀγνοήσεται is explained as "he will not know", which does not agree with Ambrosiaster's reading or Erasmus' intention). This example is hinted at by Bentley, *Humanists*, p. 145 (and n. 89).

[72] In the annotation 'Et cum ascendit turba'; see ASD VI–5, p. 428 ll. 11–14 (the retroversion is found in the 1519 addition).

[73] In Luke 14:15, Erasmus parts from the mistaken idea that φάγεται is present tense, and infers the impossible φάγηται from the Vulgate's future tense 'manducabit' ('he will eat'; in the annotation 'Qui manducabit panem'—ASD VI–5, p. 559 app.ll. 3–7; 1519–1527); the suggestion is omitted in the 1535 edition. In Acts 19:16, Erasmus infers ἀμφοῖν on the basis of the Vulgate's 'amborum' ('of both'; in the annotation 'Daemonium pessimum'—ASD VI–6, p. 297 ll. 708–709; a 1527 addition). It may be transcriptionally close to the reading αὐτῶν (𝔐) he knows, but it is too classical for the NT (MCT has ἀμφοτέρων). In Matt 9:8, Erasmus infers the unattested ἐθάμβησαν on the basis of the Vulgate's 'timuerunt' ('they feared'), explicitly staying as close as possible to ἐθαύμασαν, the reading he knows (in the annotation 'Turbae timuerunt'—ASD VI–5, p. 180 ll. 703–707; from 1516 onwards). He could have known the reading ἐφοβήθησαν from min. 1. In this case, Beza knows ἐφοβήθησαν from Stephanus' third edition (1550) and criticises Erasmus' retroversion (from his first edition (1556) onwards).

[74] In Rom 5:13, Stunica is also led astray by transcriptional proximity in his 'blunder' ἐλλογεῖτο, intended to defend the Vulgate reading 'imputabatur' against the Greek ἐλλογεῖται (see below, p. 171). This aspect is overlooked by Wettstein in his comment (*NTG*, a.h.l.) that Stunica "intended to write ἐνελογεῖτο" ("ἐνελογεῖτο volebat scribere").

("if you think differently about anything, this too God will reveal
to you"—NRSV), Erasmus writes:

> ... it should be 'he will reveal', in the future tense, ἀποκαλύψει, al-
> though the old Latin manuscripts differ, and also Ambrose [Ambro-
> siaster], who not only has a different reading, but also follows this
> reading in his explanation. ... I think that 'differently' is said with
> reference to what is, somewhat different from what is becoming.
> Therefore, if the correct reading is 'he has revealed', I surmise that
> ἀπεκάλυψε was written by Paul. Both meanings are acceptable.[75]

The Latin tradition alternates between the future form 'revelabit'
and the perfect form 'revelavit', which is a common text-critical
phenomenon, 'b' and consonantal 'v' being pronounced alike.
Only recourse to the Greek source can settle the problem, and the
Greek manuscripts invariably have the future tense ἀποκαλύψει.
Nevertheless, Erasmus still prefers the aorist for intrinsic rea-
sons.[76] A more important example of conjectural reasoning is
found in the annotation on 2 Thes 2:4. In the words 'above all
that is called God, or that is worshipped' (KJV), there is a small
difficulty in the Greek, as the masculine πάντα is followed by
both θεόν and the neuter σέβασμα. The Vulgate reading 'omne
quod dicitur deus aut quod colitur' must be seen as the result of
translational freedom (as in many modern translations), not as a
witness of a variant reading. However Erasmus writes in 1516:

> The translator seems to have read ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον. However
> the Greek manuscripts have ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα,

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[75] "... 'revelabit' futuri temporis esse debet, ἀποκαλύψει, sed reclamantibus
vetustis exemplaribus Latinis, atque ipso Ambrosio, qui secus non legit solum,
verumetiam interpretatur. ... Opinor ... dictum 'aliter' pro eo quod est secus ali-
quanto quam oportet. Proinde si recta lectio est 'revelavit', suspicor a Paulo
scriptum fuisse ἀπεκάλυψε. Sensus uterque tolerabilis est." (in the annotation
'Aliter sapitis'; from 1516 onwards; 'sed reclamantibus ... tolerabilis est' added
in 1519, with the words 'si recta lectio est "revelavit" ' added in 1527). For
Ambrosiaster, see his *Comm. epist. Paul.* a.h.l. (CSEL 81/3, p. 156 ll. 7–10). The
editor adopted 'revelabit' here (l. 8), against several manuscripts that read 'reve-
lavit'; the commentary actually confirms the latter, as Erasmus already states.

[76] Erasmus' preference for the aorist ἀπεκάλυψε betrays an interesting aspect
of his religious tolerance. With this reading, Paul says that those who 'think
differently' than himself can do so on the basis of a revelation. Erasmus not only
has Jewish Christians in mind who in Paul's time did not want to give up the
observance of the ancestral laws, but also the need of 'concordia' ('concord')
among Christians in his own time (cf. e.g. James D. Tracy, *Erasmus*, p. 163).

that is, 'above' or 'against all which is called a god or worship' or 'reverence'.[77]

He adds in 1535:

> If we would read πᾶν [τό], which according to me was written, the participle λεγόμενον is to be construed both with 'what is called a god' and 'what is called "sebasma" '.[78]

This annotation shows the difficulty in drawing the line between translational freedom and text-critical issues, and also Erasmus' interest in such minor philological details. This interest induces him to prefer (in 1535) the smoother text with πᾶν τό, a choice which amounts to conjectural emendation (though Erasmus might have explained the issue differently had he been better informed of the absence of any Greek manuscript with πᾶν τό). Important is also the reception history of Erasmus' conjecture, for Beza adopted πᾶν τό in all his editions.[79]

4.4 THE ROLE OF THE VULGATE

In most cases in which Erasmus indicated a retroverted reading, he did not make a choice or indicate a possible direction of textual corruption. He simply stated 'the translator seems to have read ...' One of the keys to the understanding of this fact is to be sought in what we have called 'transcriptional proximity'. When the Vulgate reading can be seen as reflecting a Greek reading which differs only very little from the one that is known, the case may even be compared to the scribal errors which Erasmus himself was forced to correct when he was preparing for the printer the Greek manuscripts he found in Basle. This means that

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[77] "Interpres legisse videtur ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον. Verum Graeci codices sic habent, ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεόν, ἢ σέβασμα, id est 'supra' vel 'adversus omnem qui dicitur deus, aut cultus' sive 'veneratio' " (in the annotation 'Super omne quod dicitur'; from 1516 onwards).

[78] "Si legamus πᾶν, quod fuisse scriptum arbitror, participium λεγόμενον utroque referendum est, 'quod dicitur deus' aut 'quod dicitur sebasma'."

[79] Thus part of the TR (the reading is not adopted in the Elzevir editions) and its versions perpetuate the understanding reflected by the Vulgate. Wettstein (*NTG*, a.h.l.) remarks that the emendation would demand the nominative θεός (instead of θεόν), but this is not correct, for ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα is good Greek, equivalent to ἐπὶ πᾶν ὃ λέγεται θεὸς ἢ σέβασμα.

Erasmus approached text-critical problems differently from the
way modern editors and textual critics do. The text is imagined as
the sum of a possible range of readings at each place, not as a
puzzle in which each possible or real variant has to be reduced *à
tout prix* to a single reading.

In practice, Erasmus usually printed the Greek reading he
found in the Greek manuscripts, which he translated accordingly.
But in the *Annotationes* he often indicated a possible range of
readings, and in a general way he even commented on his resul-
tant Latin translation as compared to the Vulgate:

> ... the greater the contrast in wording, the more the reader learns.[80]

This readership, of course, included Erasmus himself as well. The
collation of the Vulgate text with Greek manuscripts led him to
thorough 'interaction' with the Latin text, the Greek text and the
patristic readings, to 'fine-tuning' of the Greek and Latin vocabu-
lary, and to some scholarly display of his active command of both
languages.

Erasmus repeatedly expressed his mistrust of Greek manu-
scripts that confirm Vulgate readings.[81] He thought that such
manuscripts were corrected after the Vulgate.[82] De Jonge writes:

> Er[asmus] believed that the Ecumenical Council of Ferrara and
> Florence (1438–45), whose chief object had been the reunion of
> the Latin and Greek churches, had decided in favour of adapting

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[80] "..., quo maior est in verbis dissonantia, hoc plus discit lector" (*Apolog.
adv. debacch. Petr. Sutor.*, LB IX, c. 768 C).

[81] *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 192 ll. 503–507 and ASD
VI–8, p. 344 ll. 287–289 (the annotation 'Tristitiam super tristitiam' on 2 Cor
2:3—1522; cf. Rummel, 'Open letter', p. 452); *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*,
ASD IX–2, p. 246 ll. 343–345 on the reading 'tantum' in Jas 1:22; *Apolog. resp.
Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 258 ll. 541–544 on the *Johannine Comma*; *Capi-
ta*, LB VI, p. ***1ʳ (an addition made in the 1535 edition, p. β 3ᵛ) and the letter
to Sepúlveda, 17 February 1534 (EE 2905 ll. 37–46)—ASD VI–5, p. 354
ll. 77–79 (the annotation 'In Esaia propheta' on Mark 1:2; 1535)—ASD VI–5,
p. 534 ll. 342–344 (the annotation 'Et alios septuaginta duos' on Luke 10:1;
1535).

[82] See de Jonge, ASD IX–2, p. 193 n.l. 504 and 'Comma'. Further discus-
sions: Allen's introductions to EE 2873; Rummel, *Critics*, 1, pp. 23 and 201
n. 31; 2, pp. 127–128; van Poll–van de Lisdonk's notes in ASD VI–8, pp.
344–345 n.ll. 287–291; n.ll. 288–289; n.ll. 289–291.

the Greek mss. of the bible to the Vg. In this he was mistaken, as he admitted in 1534.[83]

The large number of retroverted readings, which Erasmus did not generally dismiss as errors and sometimes even explicitly preferred, may seem to be somewhat at odds with his own corruption theory. It can also be concluded that he did not discern the pattern that lies behind many of his retroversions, that is, the text-critical incompatibility of the Vulgate and the Byzantine text. In general, Erasmus dismissed the Vulgate as a textual witness for the Greek text, but in practice he often discussed matters far more freely and objectively than his general (mistaken) theory would allow. Moreover, a change of attitude toward the relation between his Greek text and the Vulgate can be supposed: in the early days of his text-critical work, Erasmus' view can be epitomised in the metaphor according to which the Greek text represents the pristine source from which the Vulgate as the polluted stream can and should be emended. He used his corruption theory to uphold this image against those who defended the text-critical superiority of the Vulgate. In later days, however, while upholding this corruption theory in order not to damage the foundations of his New Testament project, he distanced himself somewhat from a massive defence of the (Byzantine) Greek text, stressing that his editions were designed to inform the readers about this text, not to condemn the Vulgate text per se. He repeatedly remarks that he had no choice but to translate the Greek text of the manuscripts irrespective of his own opinion of its quality (see above, p. 19, with n. 30). Of course, ecclesiastical prudence and *dissimulatio*[84] play a role here, but in my view the retroverted readings are important as well: they gradually convinced Erasmus that the text-critical issues were not as simple as he initially may have thought. In the meantime, the *Annotationes* kept growing from edition to edition, bearing witness, among other things, to his way of dealing with text-critical problems.

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[83] *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 259 n.l. 542. De Jonge refers to Erasmus' answer to Sepúlveda; as can be seen from EE 2951 ll. 52–57, Erasmus continued to maintain with the example of min. 1 in mind that some Greek manuscripts had been corrected from the Vulgate.

[84] See Tracy, *Erasmus*, p. 117: "*Dissimulatio* was Erasmus' term for what might be called strategic tact, that is, refraining from stating views that would likely provoke a quarrel, but without belying one's true opinion."

As far as conjectural emendation is concerned, the role of Erasmus' retroverted readings is important in at least two ways. In the first place, the readings themselves are conjectural: since they are not found directly in Greek, Erasmus is to a certain extent their author. The existence of versional 'evidence' for a reading does not exclude its being a conjecture when adopted into the Greek text, for there are no absolute standards to determine what counts as manuscript 'evidence'. In the case of secondary 'witnesses' such as versions or Fathers, readings have to be evaluated in order to ascertain whether they are directly related to a Greek reading that has actually been transmitted. Since such an evaluation will often lead to considerably uncertainty, a sliding scale of 'conjecturality' can be suggested, in which a reading's 'conjecturality' is defined as inversely proportional to the 'weight' of its attestation. Some readings were actually adopted by Erasmus or would have been adopted by him but for his editorial guideline to leave the Greek text unaltered. In the second place, we witness Erasmus writing Greek and interacting with the Greek text available to him by putting alternative readings alongside it. Not surprisingly, he can do the same even when the Vulgate does not prompt him to do so, as we shall see in the next chapter.

ERASMUS' CONJECTURES

[Erasmus'] own work shows us that he often considered critical conjectures as the only means of restoring the corrupted text—van de Sande Bakhuyzen[1]

5.1 CONJECTURES INSPIRED BY THE VULGATE

Striking differences between the Greek text and the Vulgate make Erasmus reflect on the text-critical nature of the difference, and sometimes he expresses his opinion that the Greek text he knows seems to be corrupt.[2] The examples discussed here all betray a certain degree of influence from the Vulgate text, but in his conjectural proposals, Erasmus goes beyond the merely retroverted Vulgate readings discussed in the previous chapter.

Matt 15:5 (the annotation 'Munus quodcunque est'; partly): "But you say that whoever tells father or mother, 'Whatever support you might have had from me is given to God (δῶρον ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς),' then that person need not honor the father" (NRSV).

    It has long been known that Erasmus makes a wrong conjecture on the Greek text of Matt 15:5. He writes:

> Instead of ὠφεληθῇς, it seems better to read ὠφεληθῇ, so that it means 'you are helped': 'You are helped by every gift that was to be given to the temple.'[3]

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[1] Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Over de toepassing*, pp. 12–13 ("... zijn eigen arbeid toont ons, dat hij die [kritische conjecturen] menigmaal als het eenige middel beschouwde, om den bedorven tekst te herstellen").

[2] Cf. the previous chapter and the chart above, p. 25.

[3] "... ὠφεληθῇς magis legendum videtur ὠφεληθῇ, ut sit 'iuvaris': 'tu iuvaris omni dono quod daturus eram templo' " (ASD VI–5, p. 238 ll. 148–149; from 1516 onwards).

The Greek form ὠφεληθῆ proposed by Erasmus simply does not mean 'you are helped' ('iuvaris').[4] However, the extent of his misunderstanding as well as his true intentions deserve some explanation. Part of the challenge in dealing with books such as Erasmus' annotations is to reconstruct and understand 'what went wrong'.[5] Several things, in this case, both exegetical and philological.

Matt 15:5–6 is indeed a difficult passage, as its textual transmission also shows.[6] The evangelist has Jesus criticise those who condone the circumvention of the fourth commandment by making vows,[7] but though this basic idea is clear, the text remains somewhat problematic. Part of the problem is the fact that it con-

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[4] Instead of the aor. pass. subj. 2 sg. ὠφεληθῆς, Erasmus provides ὠφεληθῆ, which is the aor. pass. subj. 3 sg. Cf. Beza in his annotations: "That Erasmus says it would be better to read ὠφεληθῆ, in order to have 'you are being assisted', I simply do not understand" ("Quod Erasmus dicit potius legendum ὠφεληθῆ, ut sit *iuvaris*, plane non intelligo"; from 1556 onwards); in the *Critici Sacri*, it is conjectured that Erasmus meant ὠφελῆ (pres. pass. ind./subj. 2 sg.). Both sources are indicated by Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 24; 1812, p. 96 (from which van Manen quotes them, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, pp. 168–169).

[5] In ASD VI–5, p. 239 n.ll. 148–149, Hovingh only states that Erasmus makes an error, without pointing out its nature.

[6] In NA[27], the text is [5] ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε· ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρί· δῶρον ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς, [6] οὐ μὴ τιμήσει τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἠκυρώσατε τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν. The Byzantine text is [5] ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε· ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρί· δῶρον ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς καὶ οὐ μὴ τιμήσῃ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἢ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ. [6] καὶ ἠκυρώσατε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν. In the Byzantine text-tradition (reflected in the TR) for example, the καί at the beginning of verse 6 seems difficult to understand. With this καί, the relative clause beginning with ὅς contains two parallel verbs, εἴπῃ and τιμήσῃ, linked by καί. As a consequence, there is no main clause, and it remains unclear or at least inexplicit what idea is intended for someone who (ὅς) says (εἴπῃ) and (καί) does not honour (τιμήσῃ). KJV, for instance, supplies 'he shall be free' and the Dutch *Statenvertaling* 'die voldoet' ('he complies'). This problem is already signalled by Erasmus: "The composition of the text is rather harsh, for nothing corresponds to the part 'whoever would say to [his] father and mother', unless we understand, 'he does well' or something similar" (ASD VI–5, p. 238 ll. 159–161: "... durior est sermonis compositio, quod haec particula, *quicunque dixerit patri et matri*, non habet quod respondeat, nisi subaudiamus 'benefacit' aut aliud simile"); cf. the annotation 'Si dixerit homo' on Mark 7:11 (ASD VI–5, p. 394 ll. 148–151). The variation between τιμήσει and τιμήσῃ may be linked to the καί variant, although there would be a tendency to replace a future form by a subjunctive form anyway (cf. BDR §365). Without this καί, it is simply the relative pronoun ὅς that links both, functioning as often both as antecedent and as relative pronoun; the relative clause only contains εἴπῃ and ends with ὠφεληθῇς.

[7] Cf. Ulrich Luz, *Matthäus* 2, pp. 422–423.

tains a quotation in the third degree: the evangelist writes that Jesus said that 'you' say that whoever says ... The specific problem that induces Erasmus to his conjecture is the understanding of the relative clause attached to the vow itself, δῶρον ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς. How should the relative clause be distinguished from the main clause? The modern understanding, invariably reflected in commentaries and translations, is the one already found in the KJV. There, δῶρον ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς is translated as "*It is* a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me" (original italics), that is: "my (possible) help for you is (not for you, but) a gift (an offering to God)." ὠφεληθῇς is considered to belong to the relative clause and thus δῶρον alone is the main clause (and therefore in the nominative case), while the relative pronoun ὅ is the object of ὠφεληθῇς and thus in the accusative case. The Vulgate, Erasmus' main *Vorlage*, is based on a different understanding of the text.[8] It has "munus quodcumque *est* ex me tibi proderit" (my italics): "a gift whichever comes from me will benefit you." As is clear, ὠφεληθῇς is understood as part of the main clause, with (in Greek) δῶρον as its object (acc.) and ὅ as subject of a defective relative clause (nom.). A nice example of the difficulties in defective sentences! To summarise the two possibilities, in a somewhat conjectural way: if a form of the verb εἰμί is to be supplied, the modern understanding would be δῶρόν ἐστιν ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς, while the older one supposes δῶρον ὃ ἐὰν ᾖ ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς. Moreover, the Vulgate seems to accept the aor. subj. ὠφεληθῇς as a fut. ind. (i.e. ὠφεληθήσῃ).

Erasmus, without much reflection, follows the Vulgate understanding of the text:

> Further, in ὅ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ, clearly something has to be supplied, in order to express the full sense of the Greek clause; and it is permissible to supply that which best fits the meaning, 'is' or 'will be', or something similar.[9]

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[8] Cf. Theodor Zahn, *Matthäus*, p. 522 n. 25: "Die mit jüdischer Redeweise unbekannten alten Übersetzer haben die fremdartigen, aber nicht eigentlich inkorrekten Worte meistens mißverstanden, teilweise nicht einmal erkannt, daß δῶρον das durch Weglassung der Kopula als Ausruf gekennzeichnetes Prädikat sei."

[9] "Caeterum in ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ omnino subaudiendum est aliquid, ut exprimas articuli Graeci vim; et liberum est subaudire quod sententiae sit accommodum, 'est' aut 'erit' aut aliud simile" (ASD VI–5, p. 238 ll. 146–148; from 1516

This remark shows that he also considers ὠφεληθῆς to be part of the main clause.[10] His conjecture is occasioned by the obvious problem this construction presents: the subjunctive form of ὠφε-ληθῆς;[11] if it is detached from ἐάν, the indicative would be expected. Therefore, Erasmus' conjecture must be understood as providing this indicative form. But why does he write the obviously incorrect ὠφεληθῇ, which still represents an aor. subj. pass., this time third person singular? And why did he not correct this form in any of the subsequent editions? He reviewed the annotation, as several additions in 1527 show, and he even tried to solve the problem of the subjunctive form differently:

> ... unless the conjunction ἐάν also relates to the verb ὠφεληθῆς, so that it can be seen as denoting a possibility, that is, 'you will be helped' or 'you will possibly be helped'.[12]

The question becomes more urgent by another error which Erasmus makes within a few lines: "And τιμήσῃ, written with -ῃ, means 'you will honour', and with -ει 'he will honour'."[13] The first form is not fut. ind. act., but simply aor. subj. act.[14] The least unsatisfactory explanation of Erasmus' error, finally, is lack of

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onwards). Note that the Latin 'articulus', in a grammatical context, can mean both 'short clause' and 'article' (cf. LS). Sometimes the verb 'subaudio' poses a more difficult problem in English: it is more than either 'supply' or 'understand' (LS); it means 'dabei verstehen', 'in Gedanken ergänzen' (Georges). It is one of the standard terms to denote elliptical expressions. There may, however, be only a small step from 'supply in one's mind' to 'supply to the text', that is, from detecting ellipses in the text to conjectural emendation.

[10] This understanding also appears in Erasmus' translation: "Vos autem dicitis: Quicunque dixerit patri aut matri: Quicquid doni a me profecturum *erat*, id in tuum vertitur commodum, et non honorabit patrem suum aut matrem suam; et irritum fecistis praeceptum dei propter traditionem vestram" (1519–1535; emphasis added; in 1516, the words 'Quicunque dixerit patri aut matri' are omitted, probably due to a homoeoteleuton error). In LB VI, the same understanding is subtly expressed in the Greek text as well by a comma after ἐμοῦ in δῶρον ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῆς.

[11] Erasmus' literal translation 'adiuveris' at the beginning of the long annotation shows that he understands ὠφεληθῆς as a passive subjunctive.

[12] "... nisi coniunctio ἐάν referatur etiam ad verbum ὠφεληθῆς, ut accipiatur δυνητικῶς, id est 'iuvaberis' sive 'iuvari poteris' " (ASD VI–5, p. 238 ll. 151–153; from 1527 onwards).

[13] "Deinde τιμήσῃ, si per η scribatur, sonat 'honorabis', si per ει, 'honorabit' " (ASD VI–5, p. 238 ll. 153–154; from 1516 onwards).

[14] Hovingh remarks "unless Er[asmus] takes τιμήσῃ as a medium [middle]" (ASD VI–5, p. 239 n.ll. 148–149). Though this remark is in itself correct, Erasmus' translations show otherwise.

knowledge of (or lack of access to) the finer points of Greek grammar, in this case the paradigms of the *verba contracta*. Whether Erasmus really intended ὠφελῇ, as his translation 'iuvaris' suggests, or ὠφεληθήσῃ (fut. ind. pass. 2 sg.) will have to remain uncertain. It does not seem very useful to engage in the conjectural emendation of conjectural emendations. The problem felt by Erasmus, however, is still exegetically important.[15]

Matt 21:20 (the annotation 'Quomodo continuo aruit'): "When the disciples saw it, they were amazed, saying, 'How did the fig tree (ἡ συκῆ) wither at once?' " (NRSV).

In this text, the Latin text differs from the Greek in one respect: it seems to reflect a Greek text without ἡ συκῆ (see Ti[8]). The most probable explanation is that the words were felt to be redundant after verse 19 ("And the fig tree withered at once"), but Erasmus prefers the Latin here—that is, in the *Annotationes*—, for he writes:

> In the common Greek manuscripts 'fig tree' is repeated, but it has been added by the copyists, according to me, for it is not repeated in the old copies, nor by Jerome.[16]

Erasmus' words are somewhat ambiguous here, for with 'the old copies' he must mean older Vulgate manuscripts; actually, he refers to '(very) old Latin manuscripts' throughout the *Annotationes* to sustain his claim that the text of the late Vulgate is seriously corrupted. In this instance, the difference between the Greek and the Latin is not resolved by recourse to these older manuscripts, and Erasmus expresses a preference for a text without the repetition of ἡ συκῆ; no doubt his opinion is based on similar stylistic grounds as the omission of these words originally was.

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[15] Interestingly, Friedrich Blass proposes ὠφελήθης (aor. ind. pass. 2 sg.) instead of ὠφεληθῆς in both Matt 15:5 and Mark 7:11, remedying exactly the point that offended Erasmus (see Blass, *Markus*, p. 63). In Matt 15:5, this reading may seem to have some manuscript 'support' (B[3]). At both places, Blass's reading—which is not a conjecture—is marked with the originality mark ♦ in N[13–16] and in later Nestle editions even adopted into the text.

[16] "In vulgatis Graecorum codicibus repetitur 'ficus', sed a librariis, ut opinor, additum, quandoquidem in vetustis exemplaribus non repetitur, nec apud Hieronymum" (ASD VI–5, p. 284 ll. 302–304; from 1519 onwards; see p. 285 n.l. 304 for the reference to Jerome's *Comm. Matt.*).

Mark 7:3 ('Nisi crebro laverint manus'): "For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, do not eat unless they thoroughly (πυγμῇ) wash their hands, thus observing the tradition of the elders" (NRSV).

In Mark 7:3, the normally accepted reading πυγμῇ (literally 'with (the) fist') is difficult to understand. In Alexandros Pallis's words: "[A] man uses his fists for boxing, not for washing."[17] Erasmus is aware of this problem and discusses it at length:

> Ἐὰν μὴ πυγμῇ νίψωνται τὰς χεῖρας. Theophylact interprets πυγμῇ as if it were an adverb, for that which is all the way up to the elbow, or, as someone has interpreted, "elbow-wise', as according to the customs of the Pharisees, they used to wash their hands before the meal up to the elbow, which the law does not prescribe.[18] I actually find in the Greek etymologists two meanings for πυγμή: the 'fist', that is, the hand that is folded together, from the word πτύσσω, which is 'to fold'—which gives πυγμή as if you say πτυγμή; and 'elbow', which the Greek call πῆχυν, for that part of the arm can be folded. From here too they believe that those peoples are called 'pygmies', of which Homer recalled that they are elbow-long in height. But I do not find πυγμῇ used adverbially in Greek, and I do not know whether similar words can come from words that denote beings such as πάντι from πᾶς or ἔρημος from ἐρήμη. And if this were the case, better suited would have been πυγμῆθεν, that is, 'from the elbow', or 'as far as the elbow' than πυγμῇ. Moreover, I do not see a reason why he invokes this story of elbow washing here. For if it were agreed that the law prescribes that no one takes a meal without his hands washed, the washing of the elbow could probably have been seen introduced. For then something was added to the prescription of the law. Now the Lord shows the fact that nothing of this kind has been prescribed by the law, by saying, 'eating with hands that have not been washed does not make a man unclean' [Matt 15:20]. Therefore it is probable that in the older manuscripts not πυγμῇ was written, but πυκνῶς or πυκνά or πυκνῇ, which expresses 'frequently' ['frequenter'] or 'often' ['crebro'], or 'repeatedly' ['subinde']. But I leave this for the learned to judge.[19]

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[17] Pallis, *Mark and Matthew*, new ed., p. 22.

[18] For Theophylact, see PG 123 cc. 559–560 B–C: (txt) πυγμῇ is printed, translated as 'cubaliter'; (comm) πυγμῇ, τουτέστιν, ἄχρι τοῦ ἀγκῶνος (sic) (πυγμῇ γὰρ λέγεται τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγκῶνος ἄχρι καὶ τῶν ἄκρων δακτύλων)— "cubaliter, hoc est usque ad cubitum (cubitus enim dicitur a flexu brachii usque ad extremos digitos)".

[19] "Ἐὰν μὴ πυγμῇ νίψωνται τὰς χεῖρας. Theophylactus interpretatur πυκμῇ, ut sit adverbium, pro eo quod est 'usque ad cubitum', sive, ut quidam interpretatus est, *cubitaliter*, quod ex instituto Pharisaeorum soliti sint ante cibum lavare

Erasmus' reasoning is interesting, and it shows important aspects of his method. As we have seen on many occasions, he can retranslate the Vulgate reading into Greek once he arrives at the conclusion that the Vulgate reflects a different Greek text,[20] mostly without indicating a preference for either reading, but here, in Mark 7:3, his annotation does not simply consist of such a retranslation of the Vulgate's 'crebro', but contains a careful consideration of the possibilities to give an acceptable meaning to πυγμῇ, both philologically and contextually. Only the failure of these efforts—notably Theophylact's 'up to the elbow'—leads him to a conjectural solution. Still, one must consider these conjectures as Vulgate-inspired.[21] Erasmus gives his conjecture in three forms, of which the third one, πυκνῇ, simply does not exist, even if the form itself would be conceivable as analogous to adverbs such as λάθρᾳ, εἰκῇ and κρυφῇ. The fact that he indicates

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manus usque ad cubitum, id quod lex non praecipit. Equidem reperio apud Graecos etymologistas πυγμήν significare duo, pugnum—hoc est 'manum complicatam', a verbo πτύσσω, quod est plico, unde πυγμή, quasi dicas: πτυγμή—et cubitum, quem Graeci πῆχυν vocant; nam hac parte brachium est complicatile. Hinc et Pygmeos populos appellari putant, quorum meminit Homerus, quod cubitali sint proceritate. Verum non reperio πυγμῇ apud Graecos usurpatum adverbii loco, et haud scio an a substantiae vocibus similia veniant, quemadmodum a πᾶς πάντι, ἔρημος ab ἐρήμη. Quod si maxime fieret, tamen magis quadrabat πυγμῆθεν—id est 'a cubito' sive 'cubito tenus'—quam πυγμῇ. Ad haec nihil video causae quur haec fabula de lotione cubitali huc accersatur. Nam si constaret hoc a lege praescriptum, ne quis caperet cibum nisi lotis manibus, probabiliter videri poterat inducta cubitalis lotio. Tum enim adderetur aliquid legis praescripto. Nunc tale nihil a lege praecipi testatur Dominus dicens, *Non lotis manibus manducare non coinquinat hominem*. Unde probabile est in vetustioribus codicibus scriptum fuisse non πυγμῇ, sed πυκνῶς aut πυκνά aut πυκνῇ, quod sonat frequenter aut crebro sive subinde. Verum hoc eruditis expendendum relinquo" (ASD VI–5, pp. 392–393 ll. 102–121; from 1527 onwards). In the various editions, there is some fluctuation between πυκμῇ and πυγμῇ etc. (cf. ASD VI–5 app.ll. 102.103.110.113). The Greek text in Erasmus' own editions is πυγμῇ (without iota subscript in 1516), whereas his translation retains the Vulgate reading 'crebro'.

    [20] See above, the chart on the *Annotationes* (p. 25) and the discussion on pp. 67–90.

    [21] The ℵ reading πυκνά ('frequently'; acc. neutr. pl. of πυκνός, used besides the classical πυκνῶς) and the two other readings are mentioned as Erasmian conjectures by Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 57; 1812, p. 154. Bowyer is followed by van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 181. πυκνά is accepted by van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Over de toepassing*, p. 148, who writes: "... nevertheless, the manuscript reading, inexplicable as is was, was adopted and defended, until codex Sinaiticus came and confirmed this despised conjecture" ("... toch werd de lezing der Hss., hoewel die geen verklaring toeliet, als de ware aangenomen en verdedigd, totdat de cod. Sin. die versmade conjectuur is komen bevestigen").

these three possibilities for 'often' shows his uncertainty, in other words, the 'diagnostic' aspect of his emendation. It seems that he first looked up the Greek word that means 'often' and then moulded πυκνῶς via πυκνά into the form πυκνῇ, which most closely resembles the reading πυγμῇ he found in the manuscripts. This shows clearly his concern for some kind of 'transcriptional probability'. The interesting result is that the transcriptionally best conjecture is grammatically the worst one. At moments such as these, one becomes aware of the blank areas on the map of Greek grammar and vocabulary known by Erasmus and his contemporaries.

Erasmus' remark about the older manuscripts ('in vestustioribus codicibus') shows that he is aware of the 'conjecturality' of his proposal (which he did not adopt in his text), anticipating somewhat Basil L. Gildersleeve's well-known description of conjectural emendation as "[t]his appeal from MSS that we have to a MS that has been lost ..."[22] In this case, such a lost manuscript (א) has been found by Tischendorf (if one may call a manuscript kept in a Greek orthodox monastery and inaccessible to Western scholars 'lost'). The second of Erasmus' conjectures, πυκνά, has been confirmed by the Sinaiticus and by some less important Greek manuscripts. It has not been vindicated: its existence before the invention of movable type merely shows that scribes can have the same difficulties with πυγμῇ as later scholars and/or editors.[23] It is not

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[22] This phrase by the American classical scholar Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve (1831–1924) is commonly quoted without reference. It can be found in a 'Brief Mention' in *AJP* 23 (1902), pp. 347–348, p. 347. Note however that Gildersleeve is not referring to 'conjectural emendation', but to 'conjectural criticism', the term that was more in vogue in his time. The sentence continues: "... does not seem to exercise the same fascination on the American as on the European mind."

[23] Cf. Willem van der Beke Callenfels, *Beoordeeling*, pp. 51–52. The modern critical text maintains the 'lectio difficilior' πυγμῇ; only Ti[8] follows א (a nice example of Tischendorf's preference for 'his' manuscript). Many translations have 'often', thereby in fact accepting the Vulgate text and/or Tischendorf's choice and/or Erasmus' conjecture. The KJV for instance has 'oft' (as the Geneva Bible), with an interesting marginal note, which betrays both knowledge of Erasmus' *Annotationes* and awareness of the conjectural nature of the reading behind the translation: "Or, *diligently*: in the original, *with the fist*: Theophylact, *up to the elbow*." Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l., second apparatus) cites Erasmus, and adds: "It seems that the evangelist in order to express this idea would more probably have written πυγμὴν νίψωνται. For us, it is more likely therefore to understand πυγμὴν ὕδατος as the measure and weight of the water that is to be used"

even certain whether the Vulgate reading is based on a Greek text such as the one found in ℵ; it can also be based itself on a similar need as Erasmus' to have a coherent text, even on similar conjectural considerations.[24] But I would hesitate to call the ℵ reading a scribal conjecture or the Vulgate reading a translation conjecture. They may be, but we cannot be sure, as we do not have the reasoning which led to these readings. We can only speculate on their origin.

Finally, Erasmus 'leaves' the matter 'to the learned to judge'. This conclusion may simply betray scholarly prudence, as perhaps generally called for when conjectural emendation is at stake, but it may also indicate that Erasmus does not want to present his conjecture as more than probable, in order not to attract his critics' attention; after all, his reasoning, if accepted, would vindicate the Vulgate over the Greek.

John 4:46 (the annotation 'Quidam regulus'): "Now there was a royal official (τις βασιλικός) whose son lay ill in Capernaum" (NRSV).

Here, Erasmus exposes a subtle difference between the Greek text and the Vulgate:

> Τις βασιλικός, that is: 'Someone kingly'. However, I think βασι-
> λίσκος should be read, although the Greek copies contradict it
> unanimously.[25]

("videtur potius euangelista, ut hoc exprimeret, scripturus fuisse πυγμὴν νίψων-
ται. Nobis ergo fit verosimilius intelligi πυγμὴν ὕδατος sive mensuram et pon-
dus aquae adhibendae"). Yet another conjecture is given by Pallis: πηγῇ, which
would indicate that fresh water from a spring has to be used (*Mark and
Matthew*, p. 13; *Mark and Matthew*, new ed., p. 23). Charles Cutler Torrey
suggests that πυγμῇ reflects the Aramaic לנמר, a misreading for לנמר ('at all')
(*Four Gospels*, a.h.l.).

[24] Especially in cases such as these, it is hard to determine whether an early
translational variant reading (1) reflects an actual Greek reading; (2) reflects a
Greek variant which could—somewhat anachronistically—be considered as a
conjecture; or (3) represents an effort to provide a meaningful text indepen-
dently from the Greek.

[25] "Τις βασιλικός, id est 'quidam regalis'. Tametsi legendum opinor βασι-
λίσκος, etiamsi constanter reclamant Graecorum exemplaria" (ASD VI–6, p. 80
ll. 151–152; from 1516 onwards; Hovingh prints Τὶς, thereby correcting τίς as
found in the 1535 edition, but modern editorial practice uses unaccented forms
of the indefinite pronoun; cf. de Jonge, 'Hoelzlin', p. 117).

Erasmus notes that his Greek text contains the adjective βασιλι-
κός ('royal', 'kingly'), while the Vulgate 'regulus' seems to reflect
the diminutive noun βασιλίσκος ('princelet', 'chieftain'). In this
case, Erasmus goes beyond a mere 'the translator seems to have
read' ('interpres legisse videtur') by suggesting that the latter is
the correct reading. Characteristically, he leaves βασιλικός in the
Greek text, both here and in verse 49, but his conjecture is reflec-
ted by his translation, which in this case simply maintains the
Vulgate reading 'regulus', instead of 'regius', which would have
been the correct translation of βασιλικός.[26] It is important to
notice that Erasmus makes his conjecture knowing that it goes
against 'the Greek copies'.[27]

John 10:26 (the annotation 'Quia non estis ex ovibus meis'): "But
ye believe not, because ye are not of my sheep, as I said unto you
(καθὼς εἶπον ὑμῖν)" (KJV).
     Here as well, Erasmus detects a difference between the Greek
(Byzantine) text and the Vulgate:

> Here the Greek adds 'as I have said to you', καθὼς εἶπον ὑμῖν,
> although opposed unanimously by the Latin copies. It seems to
> have been added by some learned man, because the same is said
> somewhat earlier.[28]

This is a clear instance of Erasmus preferring the Vulgate and
conjecturing that the Greek is 'corrupt'. In this case, the modern

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[26] This discrepancy between the Greek and the Latin is not noticed in ASD
VI–2, though Brown comments on βασιλικός (ASD VI–2, p. 53 note to verse 46
βασιλικός). By maintaining 'regulus', Erasmus acts somewhat against his own
principle to leave the Greek as he found it and to translate just that, no matter
what opinion he may have of it. The triangle formed by the Greek text, the
Latin translation and the *Annotationes* presents itself in many different ways!
Once again, the *Annotationes* are vital for the proper understanding of Erasmus'
work.
[27] Interestingly, the reading βασιλίσκος is found in D. Erasmus' conjecture is
mentioned by Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.: "βασιλίσκος D. et comm. 49. Cod. *Lat*.
probante *Erasmo*"), but not by van Manen, van de Sande Bakhuyzen or Baljon.
[28] "Hic addunt Graeci 'quemadmodum dixi vobis', καθὼς εἶπον ὑμῖν, licet
refragantibus magno consensu Latinorum exemplaribus. Apparet adiectum a
studioso quopiam, quod idem dixisset aliquanto superius" (ASD VI–6, p. 120 ll.
63–66; from 1516 onwards; 'licet ... superius' added in 1519). 'Studiosus', in
Erasmus' days, still had the double meaning of 'zealous' and 'learned'. The
former connotation may be intended here: 'someone eager to improve the text'.

critical text (MCT) agrees with him,[29] and in this sense Erasmus'
conjecture is confirmed.[30] More importantly, his reasoning antici-
pates the reason ('scribal accretion') put forward by Metzger in
order to defend the choice made for the MCT. As is also implied
by Metzger, there may still be a problem, for it is not clear where
exactly 'somewhat earlier' ('aliquanto superius') the same thought
is expressed. Indeed, in the passage on the shepherd and the
sheep there is no explicit reference to sheep that do not belong to
Jesus (not even in verse 16).[31] This example is also a clear in-
stance of Erasmus' respect for the Greek text he had: he does not
leave out the Greek words, and translates them too.[32] His true
opinion on the text has to be found in his *Annotationes*.

Acts 27:14 (the annotation 'Qui vocatur Euroaquilo'): "... a tem-
pestuous wind, called the northeaster (εὐρακύλων MCT; εὐρο-
κλύδων 𝔐), struck down from the land" (RSV).
   Erasmus writes:

> Instead of 'Euroaquilo' the Greek read Εὐροκλύδων, a word used
> for this reason, that it causes enormous waves. But I do not know
> whether Luke, although he wrote Greek, did not portray our
> [Latin] word, saying Εὐροακύλων, just as Paul also makes Ἀκύλαν
> from 'Aquilam'. But he added not only the name of the typhoon, to
> express the danger, but also from where it burst forth, to make us
> understand by this name that it was uncommon as well, for it was
> not suitable for the normal course, whereas the south wind is
> convenient for those who sail from Syria to Italy.[33]

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[29] Cf. TC², p. 197 (TC¹, pp. 231–232).
[30] Mentioned by Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 163 (1812, p. 295).
It is cited by van Manen as a confirmed Erasmian conjecture (*Conjecturaal-
kritiek*, p. 139).
[31] For this reason Markland proposes to take καθὼς εἶπον ὑμῖν not with the
preceding sentence, but with the following one; "otherwise it will not be true"
(in Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 163; 1812, p. 295).
[32] The words 'quemadmodum dicebam vobis' were not included until 1519;
this is one of the many instances showing that Erasmus' 1516 Latin translation is
still in many respects an insufficiently revised form of the Vulgate.
[33] "Graeci pro *Euroaquilo* legunt Εὐροκλύδων: vox hinc dicta, quod ingentes
excitat fluctus. Verum haud scio an Lucas, tametsi Graece scribens, effinxerit
vocem nostram, dicens: Εὐροακύλων; quemadmodum Aquilam Paulus quoque
facit Ἀκύλαν. Addidit autem non solum cognomen Typhonis, ut periculum ex-
primeret, verum etiam unde erumperet; ut intelligeremus hoc quoque nomine
incommodum, quod non faceret ad institutum cursum, quum Notus sit accom-
modus e Syria navigantibus in Italiam" (ASD VI–6, p. 340 ll. 711–717; 1516).

This conjecture, based on the Vulgate, is a good one.[34] In a slightly different form, εὐρακύλων, it has been 'confirmed' by several important Greek manuscripts and adopted in several modern editions.[35] Erasmus' etymological explanation is essentially correct as well.[36] Jerry Bentley presents εὐρακύλων as the harder reading;[37] it may indeed seem a strange word to copyists,[38] but Erasmus—who does not even adopt it but only suggests it— merely suspects a Greek word 'behind' the Vulgate's 'euroaquilo', to which he is able to ascribe a suitable meaning. Interestingly, the word is also discussed by Erasmus' contemporary Nebrija, who reaches the opposite conclusion and assumes corruption within the Vulgate (from 'euroclydon' to 'euroaquilonem').[39]

2 Pet 2:12 ('Naturaliter'): "But these, as creatures without reason, born mere animals (γεγεννημένα φυσικά) to be taken and destroyed ..." (ASV).

There is a striking discrepancy here between the Greek text and the Vulgate. The former, with variations, has γεγεννημένα φυσικά,[40] while the latter only has 'naturaliter' ('naturally'). Eras-

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The name Ἀκύλαν occurs for instance in Rom 16:3 (cf. 2 Tim 4:19 and Acts 18:2).
  [34] Erasmus' conjecture is also indicated by Jerry Bentley, *Humanists*, pp. 145–146. There seems to have been considerable debate on precisely this text, because Richard Bentley had taken it, going against Whitby, as one of the examples in which the notes in John Mill's edition clearly show the better reading, then only known from the Alexandrinus and the Latin (cf. his *Remarks*, *Works*, III, pp. 353–354).
  [35] εὐρακύλων is found in $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$ ℵ A B* latt (co) (NA²⁷). It is adopted in Ti⁸ and WH and subsequently in all Nestle editions up to NA²⁷.
  [36] Cf. BDR §5₆: εὐρακύλων = εὖρος ('Südostwind') + aquilo ('Nordwind'); εὐροκλύδων = εὖρος + κλυδών ('Wogenschwall'): 'der Wogen aufwühlende Südostwind'. BDR does not discuss εὐρυκλύδων (the reading in B²). Similarly BDAG s.v. εὐρακύλων: " 'euroaquilo'; a hybrid formation of Lat.-Gk. sailor's language, made fr. εὖρος and Lat. 'aquilo'."
  [37] Bentley, *Humanists*, p. 146.
  [38] Cf. TC², p. 440 (TC¹, p. 497).
  [39] *Explanatio*, cited in *Critici sacri* 1698, VIII, part 3, c. 107a. This *Explanatio* (known as *Tertia Quinquagena*) was one of the sources Stunica used (see de Jonge in ASD IX–2, p. 65 n.l. 75).
  [40] ECM indicates a considerable number of readings here (cf. NA²⁷); the only ones to be taken seriously concern two aspects: (1) the place and presence of φυσικά: before or after γεγεν(ν)ημένα, or absent; (2) γεγεννημένα (from γεννάω) or γεγενημένα (from γίνομαι). The Greek text of Erasmus' editions reads γεγενημένα, but this is probably an error for γεγεννημένα, the reading both mentioned in the annotation and reflected by the translation 'genita' ('begot-

mus' 1516 annotation is as short as possible: " 'Naturally': γεγεν-
νημένα, that is: 'born'."[41] This annotation suggests that the Vul-
gate reading 'naturaliter' ('naturally') is an incorrect rendering of
the Greek word γεγεννημένα, and should be replaced by 'nata'
('born'). This idea is not correct, but it is not sure whether Eras-
mus really means it. He may also intend to point out that a coun-
terpart of γεγεννημένα is lacking in the Vulgate, which would be
a correct observation.[42] The confusion created by the printed
annotation may then be the result of Erasmus' short-hand nota-
tion in his copy of the Vulgate: he simply underlined the suspect
words in its text and usually wrote the corresponding Greek with
its (correct) Latin rendering in the margin.

The fact is that Erasmus simply does not pay much attention to
the textual problem in this verse until 1527. Only then does he
review the issue and clarify his opinion:

> However, it seems to me that this γεγεννημένα has been added as a
> comment by someone who wanted to explain what φυσικά is;
> someone else transferred it into the text. For thus it said 'natural
> beings for capture', just as we say 'born for learning' for what is
> 'disposed by nature'. Then someone changed 'naturalia' ('natural
> beings') into 'naturaliter' ('naturally'). Besides, what are living
> beings that are not natural beings? Or is a human being not a natu-
> ral living being? ...[43]

So here we have yet another instance of a Vulgate-inspired con-
jecture (the omission of γεγεννημένα). Interestingly, Erasmus
explains its origin as a scribal gloss. He would have been more
inclined to do so because he knew the word order φυσικὰ γεγεν-
νημένα. Erasmus also has to assume internal corruption in the
Vulgate transmission in order to explain the discrepancy between
φυσικά and 'naturaliter'. Therefore, he supposes that an original
'naturalia' ('natural beings') was changed into 'naturaliter' ('natu-

ten'). It is corrected in LB VI.
[41] '*Naturaliter*: γεγεννημένα, id est "nata".'
[42] ECM assumes that the Vulgate reflects the reading ὡς ἄλογα ζῷα φυσικὰ
εἰς ...
[43] "Quanquam mihi videtur illud γεγεννημένα apud Graecos additum loco
scholii a quopiam qui voluerit interpretari, quid esset φυσικά. Id alius in contex-
tum transtulit. Sic enim dixit 'naturalia ad captionem', quemadmodum dicimus
'natus ad discendum' pro eo quod est 'natura compositus'. Deinde 'naturalia'
aliquis vertit in 'naturaliter'. Alioqui quae sunt animalia non naturalia? An homo
non est animal naturale? ..."

rally') by someone who considered 'naturalia' to be redundant
next to 'animalia' ('living beings').[44] More likely however is the
influence of Jude 10,[45] where the Latin also has 'naturaliter',
faithfully reflecting φυσικῶς. This influence could go as far back
as the translation itself.[46] As for the text-critical value of the omis-
sion of γεγεννημένα, one would have to be a very thorough-
going eclectic to accept it.

2 Cor 1:6–7 (in the annotation 'Consolamur et ipsi' on 2 Cor
1:4)

The *Textus Receptus* presents these verses in a text form which
is, as Metzger remarks, "without known manuscript authority".[47]
The Erasmian origin of this text form indeed deserves to be inves-
tigated as a possible instance of conjectural emendation. This in-
vestigation has to start with what is going on in the manuscript
tradition. The Greek text in the MCT form is as follows:

> [6] εἴτε δὲ θλιβόμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως καὶ σωτηρίας·
> εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως τῆς ἐνεργουμέ-
> νης ἐν ὑπομονῇ τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν. [7]
> καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν βεβαία ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰδότες ὅτι ὡς κοινωνοί ἐστε
> τῶν παθημάτων, οὕτως καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως. (If we are afflicted,
> it is for your comfort and salvation; and if we are comforted, it is
> for your comfort, which you experience when you patiently endure
> the same sufferings that we suffer. [7] Our hope for you is unshak-
> en; for we know that as you share in our sufferings, you will also
> share in our comfort.—RSV)

The following table presents the four different word orders as
they are found in the manuscripts (omitting minor variations such
as the alternation between ὑμῶν and ἡμῶν or the inclusion of δέ

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[44] Erasmus does not refer to the Vulgate word 'pecora', but uses 'animalia',
the most obvious translation of ζῷα (but not the one he uses himself!). Appar-
ently he did not consult the Vulgate when revising his annotation, but only his
own (third) edition.

[45] Jude 10: ὅσα δὲ φυσικῶς ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα ἐπίστανται (vg 'quaecumque
autem naturaliter tamquam muta animalia norunt').

[46] This is what ECM assumes. According to von Harnack (*Bedeutung der
Vulgata*, pp. 42.106.127), the Vulgate in 2 Pet 2:12 reflects the reading φυσι-
κῶς, as in Jud 10. His proposal to read φυσικῶς in 2 Pet 2:12 is a Vulgate-
inspired conjecture, but he is not clear on the omission of γεγεννημένα, placing
the word between brackets in his retranslation (*Bedeutung der Vulgata*, p. 42).

[47] TC², p. 505 (TC¹, p. 573).

or οὖν after the second εἴτε); for the sake of convenience, we use sigla for the different parts:[48]

Parts:

S¹	Subordinate clause 1	εἴτε δὲ θλιβόμεθα
S²	Subordinate clause 2	εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα
M	Main clause	καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν βεβαία ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
Pˡ	Prepositional phrase (long)	ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως καὶ σωτηρίας
Pˢ	Prepositional phrase (short)	ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως
R	Remainder	τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ἐν ὑπομονῇ τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν

1 ℵ *al* (vg)   [S¹ Pˡ]   [S² Pˢ R]   [M]

2 D *al* (𝔐)   [S¹ Pˡ R] [M]   [S² Pˡ]

3 B 33   [S¹ Pˢ R] [M]   [S² Pˡ]

4 81 *al*   [S¹ Pˢ R] [M]

Stylistically, the D–𝔐 text seems to represent the harder reading, for one would prefer a direct parallelism of the two subordinate clauses with εἴτε. However, the question must be asked whether a local-genealogical stemma can be drawn, for the textual critic's task is above all to explain the existing 'evidence'. Metzger provides such a stemma, in four stages.[49] He supposes that the original text suffered from a homoeoteleuton error, which was corrected by means of a marginal note, which in turn was reintroduced into the text in two different ways, both incorrect. Using the same sigla as above, Metzger's reconstruction can be diagrammed as follows:

1   the original text (*ut* ℵ)   [S¹ Pˡ]   [S² Pˢ R]   [M]

2   homoeoteleuton (cf. 81)   [S¹]   [Pˢ R]   [M]

3   with a marginal note ...   [S¹ Pˢ R] [M]   ┊ S² Pˡ ┊

4a. ... wrongly introduced (*ut* B) [S¹ Pˢ R] [M]   [S² Pˡ]

4b. ... wrongly introduced (*ut* D) [S¹ Pˡ R] [M]   [S² Pˡ]

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[48] For details, see GNT⁴ and *Text und Textwert* II.2, pp. 626–639 (!).

[49] TC², p. 505 (TC¹, p. 573).

Though it accounts for all text forms known from the manuscript tradition, this stemma is hardly acceptable. Not only does it contain the highly conjectural supposition of a wrongly reintroduced marginal correction,[50] but also the details of P*l* and P*s* seem to speak against it.[51] The Committee's solution as reported by Metzger seems to have been inspired by the idea that the harder reading is unacceptable in this case, and that it has to be explained (away) as the result of unintentional scribal error together with incorrect scribal emendation. Perhaps the ℵ reading, which has been followed by all critical editions since Ti[8], is actually preferable, but it will have to be argued for in a better way.

The TR form, as von Dobschütz remarks, is due to Erasmus: "[Erasmus] brachte ... 2K 1 6 durch Vermutung eine falsche Umstellung hinein."[52] Indeed, in the TR, from Erasmus' text in 1519, almost its earliest stage, the order in which the elements occur differs from the four types preserved by the manuscripts:

TR (= Erasmus 1519) S^1 P^l R S^2 P^l M

Erasmus' text here is a strange mixture of the D–𝔐 reading (R follows S^1 P^l and P^l itself occurs twice) and the ℵ–vg reading (the order S^1 ... S^2 ... M). It has to be remembered that Erasmus' work on the New Testament consisted of a careful comparison (*collatio*) of the Vulgate text with the (Byzantine) Greek, and that in most cases he knew the Greek only in its Byzantine text form. The following table allows us to see 'what went wrong' in the case of 2 Cor 1:6–7, when during the revision of his first edition he compared the Vulgate reading with the 𝔐 reading.[53]

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[50] This kind of reasoning is cherished by Harald Sahlin in three articles in *Novum Testamentum* ('Vorschläge I' etc.; 1982–1983).

[51] Assuming the correctness of Metzger's stemma, the only feasible *saut du même au même* is ὑπέρ ... ὑπέρ or παρακλήσεως ... παρακλήσεως, both of which lead to the omission of P^l S^2. This would imply that the supposed marginal note is in itself already incorrect, for it reverts the order into S^2 P^l. More important is the question how Claromontanus would have arrived at the sequence S^1 P^l at the beginning of verse 6.

[52] *Einführung*, p. 62.

[53] In the first edition, Erasmus' Latin is "Sive autem tribulamur pro vestra consolatione ac salute, quae operatur in tolerantia earundem afflictionum, quas et nos patimur, et spes nostra firma est pro vobis. Sive consolationem accipitis pro nostri consolatione ac salute, scientes, ...", which reflects the Greek, except for the remarkable words "sive consolationem accipitis pro nostri consolatione ..." ("or if *you* are comforted, [it is] for *our* comfort"), which would reflect

The Vulgate text (= $\aleph$)	$S^1\ P^l$	$S^2\ P^s\ R$	M
Erasmus' base text ($\mathfrak{M}$; 1516)	$S^1\ P^l\ R$	M	$S^2\ P^l$
Erasmus' 1519 text (TR)	$S^1\ P^l\ R$	$S^2\ P^l$	M

Erasmus' text can be seen as a fifth stage in Metzger's stemma presented above: a textual critic tries to correct the text, having noted the erroneous scribal correction. The thrust of Erasmus' emendation is understandable—it restores the parallelism between εἴτε δὲ θλιβόμεθα and εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα—, and it is even correct from most modern textual critics' point of view, but its final result is not anticipated by any manuscript.[54] The elements $S^2\ P^l$ end up at the wrong place, namely after R and not just before it, which produces a text which is unique in that R is not followed by M.

From the *Annotationes*, it appears that this lack of precision is due to the way Erasmus analyses the problem:

> However, there are two parts in the argument, 'either' [S^1] and 'either' [S^2], and both of these correspond to one clause, namely this one, 'and our hope is firm for you' [M], which in our [manuscripts] is added afterwards, but is placed in the middle in Greek—with which we disagree here, however.[55]

παρακαλεῖσθε and ἡμῶν instead of παρακαλούμεθα and ὑμῶν. When he was criticised by Stunica for this translation, Erasmus ascribed it to others (see *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 190 ll. 474–478). De Jonge believes that Erasmus is correct, but a different view is possible as well, for the reading makes the impression of a conscious emendation. Erasmus' remark that he would have mentioned such a decision in the annotations is not very convincing.

[54] This small correction to Metzger's remark is in order, for according to *Text und Textwert* II.2, pp. 626–639, the TR form is actually found in five minuscules: mins. 1104 1668 1903 1931 2318 (and with another addition also in min. 1869). These manuscripts, however, are all later than Erasmus' text. The dates are (according to the *Kurzgefaßte Liste*): min. 1104: 1702; min. 1869: 1688; min. 1903: 1636; min. 1931: XVI; min. 2318: XVIII. Min. 1668 presents a special case: both XI and XVI are indicated, while a footnote informs us that Revelation is copied from a printed Greek New Testament. The present text may be taken as a strong indication that such influence is not limited to Revelation. In general, the case of 2 Cor 1:6–7 suggests that the early printed editions could have been included in *Text und Textwert*, if only to prevent its users from drawing obviously wrong conclusions.

[55] "Quum sint autem duae partes orationis *Sive* et *sive*, quarum utraque respondet uni clausulae, nempe huic: *Et spes nostra firma est pro vobis*, quae apud nos adiicitur posteriori, Graecis in medio ponitur, a quibus tamen hic dissentimus" (in the annotation 'Consolamur et ipsi' on 2 Cor 1:4—ASD VI–8, p. 328 ll. 36–39; from 1519 onwards). Erasmus also writes in 1519: "And there-

Thus, in fact Erasmus simply transposes M to the place where he thinks it belongs, at the end, *without further regarding* the place of R, or the choice between P^l and P^s. The transposition may be correct in itself, but without the other corrections it simply produces an unattested text. This means that von Dobschütz's remark, cited above, is too critical. Erasmus' emendation shows the very combination of remarkably sound judgement and its hasty application that permeates his *Annotationes*. Erasmus should of course have left the 𝔐 text alone here, leaving to his annotations the task of explaining what is wrong and to posterity to confirm and implement, if necessary, the Vulgate reading.

   Within a modern perspective, Erasmus' correction can be regarded as a conjectural emendation, and with the ease of hindsight it can even be disqualified as an unworthy and uninformed attempt to solve a difficult text-critical problem. From a historical perspective, however, Erasmus' text appears as an unsteady bridge between the Byzantine and the Vulgate text, but a bridge nevertheless. In spite of all the material we have today, the text-critical problem itself still remains unsolved.

5.2 PURE CONJECTURES

The thorough interaction with the Greek text makes Erasmus sometimes propose conjectures that are not inspired or influenced by the collation with the Vulgate.

Acts 13:6 (the annotation 'Barieu'): "... they came upon a certain magician, a Jewish false prophet, named Barjesus (ᾧ ὄνομα Βαρ-ιησοῦν)" (RSV).[56]

   Erasmus observes that Βαριησοῦν means 'son of Jesus' and suggests that it is not a name, but simply indicates the name of the magician's father; in that case, ᾧ ὄνομα would be incorrect and not original:

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fore the clause that follows, 'and our hope ...', will especially belong to the second part" ("Atque ita particula quae sequitur, *et spes nostra*, peculiariter pertinebit ad partem posteriorem"—ASD VI–8, p. 330 ll. 56–57).
   [56] Erasmus' text has Βαριησοῦν with 𝔐 against MT Βαριησοῦ.

The Greek read Βαριησοῦν, which expresses 'son of Jesus', but in a compound saying. Therefore it may seem that what is added above, ᾧ ὄνομα, was not written by Luke, which word explained not the name of the man himself, but only of his father; he added his own name somewhat later.[57]

There is indeed a problem in the text, in that the magician may seem to be given a name twice; even the 'translation' mentioned in verse 8 is problematic. Erasmus stands at the beginning of a long line of commentators who struggle with this text, though his 'solution' does not seem to have met with much approval.[58]

Acts 26:3 (the annotation 'Aestimo me beatum'—partly): "... because you are especially familiar (μάλιστα γνώστην ὄντα σε) with all customs and controversies of the Jews" (RSV).

The syntax poses some problems here, for the function of the accusative in γνώστην ὄντα σε is hard to explain.[59] Erasmus comments:

> [1519] However, the congruence of ὄντα σε is difficult, unless perhaps ὄντος σοῦ had to be written, [1535] or unless it is acceptable to put an unconnected accusative case instead of a genitive. [1527] ... The Greek manuscripts unanimously have ὄντα, and I do not see a solution, unless we supply εἰδώς, 'knowing' [= 'because [Paul] knew'].[60]

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[57] "Graeci legunt Βαριησοῦν, quod sonat 'filium Iesu', dictione tamen composita. Ut appareat quod superius adiectum est, ᾧ ὄνομα, non fuisse scriptum a Luca, quae vox explicuerit non ipsius hominis nomen, sed patris duntaxat; ipsius nomen paulo post adiecit" (ASD VI–6, p. 260 ll. 910–914; from 1516 onwards; 'dictione tamen composita' added in 1527; 'non' added in 1519 (a correction)). The reference is to Ἐλύμας in verse 8. In the remainder of the annotation, Erasmus struggles with the word μεθερμηνεύεται in verse 8, lacking the knowledge of Aramaic to connect 'Elymas' and 'sorcerer' (cf. Scaliger's conjecture as recorded in Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 232; 1812, pp. 370–371).

[58] See e.g. Charles Barrett, *Acts*, 1, pp. 615–616 and the literature indicated there.

[59] Cf. Zahn, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 795 n. 13: "Ohne das ... ungenügend bezeugte und ... verdächtige ἐπιστάμενος läge hier eine arge Aposiopese vor."

[60] "Quanquam dure congruit ὄντα σε, nisi forte scribendum erat ὄντος σοῦ; aut nisi placet accusandi casum pro genitivo poni absolute. ... In ὄντα consentiunt Graeci codices, nec video solutionem, nisi subaudiamus εἰδώς, id est, 'sciens' " (ASD VI–6, p. 332 ll. 522–523.529–530; from 1519 onwards; 'aut nisi placet ... absolute' added in 1535; 'In ὄντα ... sciens' added in 1527). Cf. Hovingh's note in ASD VI–6, p. 332 n.l. 522.

The grammar is indeed difficult here, as the existence of the variant reading ἐπιστάμενος also shows.[61] Erasmus' εἰδώς even became the *Textus Receptus* reading when it was found in a manuscript.[62] The usual solution is the one indicated by Erasmus in 1535: to consider the accusative functioning independently from the genitive in ἐπὶ σοῦ (verse 2). His earlier conjecture should of course be completed to γνώστου ὄντος σοῦ, as Bowyer does.[63]

The layers of the annotation are important. In 1519, Erasmus notes the grammatical problem, and proposes a conjectural solution. In 1527, he seems embarrassed with its conjecturality, and proposes another explanation, although—as usual—without withdrawing his earlier thoughts. This explanation is only semi-conjectural in nature, for it uses the exegetical technique of 'subaudire':[64] the word εἰδώς is essential for the understanding, or better, for the attribution of a normal function to the accusative, but it does not follow that it must or should have been written. Interestingly, the word εἰδώς is found in min. 69.[65] Perhaps Erasmus once consulted the manuscript, made a mental note of εἰδώς as a solution to the strange 'accusative absolute', and forgot it until the preparation for the 1527 edition. In 1535, finally, he states the problem itself more clearly and precisely and approaches the modern solution.

For Erasmus, conjectural emendation can be a valid means of solving grammatical inconcinnities, but simpler solutions are to be preferred.

Rom 3:2 (the annotation 'Multum'): "Much (πολύ) in every way" (RSV).

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[61] Cf. NA²⁷.

[62] εἰδώς is marked as a variant (from the Paris manuscript min. 6) in Stephanus' third edition (the *Editio Regia* from 1550; there under the siglum ε´). Beza adopts it from his third edition (1582) onwards. The variant reading ἐπιστάμενος is also indicated in Stephanus' 1550 edition (siglum ι´).

[63] Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 281 (1812, p. 419). Bowyer also indicates Erasmus' later solution: "unless we understand εἰδώς."

[64] Cf. above, p. 93 n. 9.

[65] Swanson (*Acts*, a.h.l.) gives σε πάντων εἰδὼς ὄντα as the reading of min. 69. According to Ti⁸, min. 69, first hand, has ὄντα σε εἰδώς together with mins. 6 and 323, whereas the second hand omits εἰδώς. The readings in mins. 6 and 323 are already recorded by Wettstein (*NTG*, a.h.l.).

Erasmus suggests a grammatical correction here:

πολύ. Thus it is found also in Greek with an upsilon. Yet it appears that πολλή should be read, with a double λ and with η, to modify the [feminine] noun ὠφελεία 'advantage.'[66]

As the preceding verse reads: Τί οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς; ("Then what advantage has the Jew? Or what is the value of circumcision?"—RSV), Erasmus' proposal πολλή for πολύ makes verse 2 refer to ἡ ὠφέλεια instead of τὸ περισσόν, as he obviously thinks πολύ does. It is a small but real conjectural emendation,[67] though in all editions πολύ is printed, while in the Latin translation, which maintains the Vulgate's 'multum' ('much'), the difference would not be seen. The conjecture is unnecessary, for the text is acceptable as it stands, though some plausibility for it could be seen in the similar pronunciation of πολύ and πολλή. It is the fact that Erasmus actually makes such a conjecture that is remarkable: a slight grammatical inconcinnity attracts his attention.

Rom 4:12 (the annotation 'Non his tantum qui sunt ex circuncisione'): "And the father of circumcision to them who are not of the circumcision only, but who also walk (τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσιν) in the steps of that faith of our father Abraham ..." (KJV).

The text of this verse has been subject of Erasmus' annotations from 1516 to 1535. There is also a long paragraph on this text in his answer to Titelmans's criticisms,[68] parts of which were included in the 1535 edition. What began as a simple comparison between the Vulgate text and the Greek eventually became an intricate effort to understand the passage and to have it say what it is supposed to express by means of conjectural emendation.

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[66] "πολύ. Sic et apud Graecos habetur per hypsilon. Quanquam legendum videtur πολλή, et per duplex λ et η, ut sit epitheton huius nominis 'utilitas', ὠφέλεια" (from 1516 onwards; 'huius nominis "utilitas" ' added in 1519; in 1516, 'λ, et η' is written as 'l et ita', a transliteration that was first replaced by 'λ, et ita' in 1519 and only in 1535 by 'λ, et η' (not noted by Reeve); translation CWE 56, p. 90).

[67] It is clear that Erasmus knows no manuscripts with πολλή; none are recorded in Ti[8] or von Soden.

[68] *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, cc. 980 D–981 D.

In 1516, Erasmus simply and succinctly remarks that the Greek differs considerably from the Vulgate, which reads "et sit pater circumcisionis non his tantum qui sunt ex circumcisione sed et his qui sectantur vestigia" ("and that he might be the father of the circumcision, not only of those who are of the circumcision but also of those who follow in the footsteps"). The difference lies in the place and therefore the scope of 'not only'. In this first edition, Erasmus takes the Greek τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσιν to mean "to those who not only are of the circumcision, but also follow (in the footsteps of the faith)."[69] According to Erasmus, Paul wants to say that it is *not enough* for a Jew, in order to be considered a son of Abraham, to be circumcised; he also has to follow in his footsteps, that is, have the same faith as Abraham had when he was not yet circumcised. Whereas the Vulgate implies the existence of two different groups, Erasmus supposes that the whole sentence refers to one and the same group, the Jews, and that the latter part of the sentence simply expresses an essential condition they have to meet in order to be considered truly sons of Abraham.

In 1519 and 1527, Erasmus provides patristic support for his interpretation, referring to Ambrose (Ambrosiaster) and Origen (1519) and to Chrysostom (1527).[70] Another one of his almost standard references, Theophylact's commentary, however, does not support him, as he notes in 1527. Indeed, the manuscript Erasmus consulted has οὐ τοῖς μόνον (that is, οὐ τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον) instead of τοῖς οὐ μόνον (read τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον). This word order οὐ τοῖς excludes the interpretation 'of those who not only ...' and can only be understood along the lines of the Vulgate, but Erasmus ascribes the transposition of the negative particle to an erroneous correction by a later scribe.[71]

More importantly for our present discussion, however, this detail makes him realise that there is a grammatical problem related to his own interpretation, as he goes over the passage again in

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[69] Cf. Erasmus' translation in 1516: "iis qui non solum essent ex circumcisione, sed etiam ingrederentur vestigiis fidei, quae fuit ..."

[70] For the references, see CWE 56, p. 115 nn. 3.4.6.

[71] From *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, c. 980 F, it appears that Erasmus actually detected a scribal correction.

1529, after being challenged by Titelmans. Thus he writes in 1535, echoing his remarks from 1529:

> The article [τοῖς], repeated unusually soon, poses something of a difficulty (ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς), but some scribe could possibly have added that syllable.[72]

This amounts to a conjectural emendation, the omission of the second τοῖς, according to which the sentence runs as follows: πατέρα περιτομῆς τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ στοιχοῦσιν τοῖς ἴχνεσιν ("father of the circumcision, for those who are not only of the circumcision but [who] also follow the footsteps"). This is Erasmus' first conjecture on Rom 4:12, intended to safeguard the interpretation which regards the expression to refer to one single group.

The remainder of the lengthy 1535 addition to the annotation is dedicated to the textual problem related to this interpretation. First Erasmus returns to Theophylact, in order to make sure which interpretation he followed. Erasmus concludes that the matter is not clear, and suggests that the Greek passage contains some errors.[73] He then reconsiders the possibility that was already implied by Theophylact, i.e. to read οὐ τοῖς ('not of those who') instead of τοῖς οὐκ ('of those who not'). Indeed, Erasmus suggests that the reading should be "not of those who are from the circumcision only, but of those who also (= in addition to being circumcised) follow in the footsteps." In Greek, this is the word

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[72] "Offendit nonnihil articulus mox praeter usum repetitus, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς. Verum fieri potuit, ut eam syllabam scriba quispiam adiecerit." CWE 56, p. 113, erroneously translates: "The conjunction καί repeated unusually soon, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς [but *also* to those], ..." CWE 56, p. 115 n. 14 is based on this error and therefore superfluous. Cf. the earlier remarks (from 1529) in *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, c. 981B: "There remains the one problem of the article [τοῖς] that is repeated in the latter part, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσι, which seems to obstruct the meaning. It is not clear whether Chrysostom added it, and it has probably been added by the scribes." ("Superest unus scrupulus de articulo repitito in parte posteriore, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσι, qui videtur officere sensui. Ex Chrysostomo non liquet an addiderit, et probabile est a scribis additum.")

[73] In fact, Erasmus' own translation of Theophylact's Greek already shows the contradiction: during the explanation we read "non his solum qui circumcisionem habent" ("not to those only who have circumcision") for οὐ τοῖς μόνην τὴν περιτομὴν ἔχουσιν (PG 124, c. 393C), whereas the conclusion contains "non his qui circumcisione tantum illum referunt" ("not to those who resemble him in circumcision only") for οὐ τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνης ὁμοιουμένοις αὐτῷ (PG 124, c. 393C).

order οὐ τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον which he found in the manu-
script of Theophylact's commentary and which he first had dis-
missed as erroneous. This reading itself can already be considered
as conjectural, though Erasmus does not do so,[74] but his final pro-
posal surely qualifies as such, for he remarks that it requires yet
another inversion of words in the second part of the sentence: the
Greek should be ἀλλὰ τοῖς καί ('but of those who also') instead
of ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ('but also of those who'). It is important to
notice that Erasmus is well aware of the conjecturality of his
emendation, for he remarks: "This is probably a mistake made
through the carelessness of the scribes."[75]

The following table summarises this discussion by comparing
Erasmus' two conjectures with the Greek text as it is almost invar-
iably transmitted.

	πατέρα περιτομῆς			
MCT (=TR)	τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον			
	ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσιν τοῖς ἴχνεσιν			
first conjecture	τοῖς	οὐκ	ἐκ περιτομῆς	μόνον
		ἀλλὰ	καὶ στοιχοῦσιν τοῖς ἴχνεσιν	
second conjecture	οὐ	τοῖς	ἐκ περιτομῆς	μόνον
		ἀλλὰ τοῖς	καὶ στοιχοῦσιν τοῖς ἴχνεσιν	

Erasmus prefers the second conjecture,[76] and finally remarks that
the Vulgate reflects neither reading, "though I suspect that the
place was corrupted by copyists."[77] His own translation (from
1519 onwards), however, more or less reflects his first conjecture.
Apparently he did not want to alter his translation on the basis of
the conclusion he arrived at only in the preparation of the 1535
edition.

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[74] Theophylact's remark οὕτω δεῖ ἀναγνῶναι· ... οὐ τοῖς ("One should read it
thus: '... not of those who' "—PG 124, c. 393 C) has to be taken not to indicate
a reading he knows from a manuscript, but the interpretation he prefers. Ti[8],
however, indicates two minuscules, 69 (37[p]) and 436 (80[p]) that have this read-
ing.

[75] "Id autem est probabile incuria scribarum commissum" (translation CWE
56, p. 114).

[76] "Posterior mihi magis probatur". In terms of 'transcriptional probability',
the first conjecture is more probable, for it only supposes the addition of τοῖς to
στοιχοῦσιν.

[77] "... nisi quod suspicor locum a librariis depravatum" (translation CWE 56,
p. 114). This way Erasmus avoids blaming the Vulgate translator.

Some important conclusions can be drawn from Erasmus' treatment of this text. Erasmus shows a growing awareness of the difficulty in the Greek text. He becomes aware of the difficulty of dealing with Theophylact's commentary. He consistently applies a critical acumen in judging the value of readings indicated in patristic sources. More importantly, we witness conjectural emendation in the making: Erasmus is not satisfied with an easy solution, making general (and specific) complaints about scribes and copyists in passing. To the real textual and exegetical problem here, Erasmus' conjectures offer 'solutions' that are still noteworthy, if only because they draw attention to the unevenness in the transmitted Greek text. The conjectures have played an important role in the history of exegesis since the sixteenth century, as they were taken over by Beza; the first conjecture was accepted by van de Sande Bakhuyzen and Baljon and attributed to Beza. It fully deserves its place in the apparatus of NA[27], in a future edition of which Beza's name should be replaced by that of Erasmus.[78]

Rom 9:5 (the annotation 'Qui est super omnia deus'): "of whom as concerning the flesh Christ *came*, who is over all, God blessed for ever (ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας)" (KJV).

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[78] NA[27] (as already N[13]) gives Beza as the *Urheber* of the omission of the second τοῖς. It is Erasmus' first conjecture, as will be clear by now. Its erroneous attribution to Beza ultimately derives from Bowyer's *Critical Conjectures* (1782, p. 301; 1812, p. 440). The conjecture found its way to the Nestle editions through van Manen (*Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 258), van de Sande Bakhuyzen (who at least read Beza's own comments; see *Over de toepassing*, p. 237), Baljon (*Tekst*, p. 8 and *NTG*) and Schmiedel. The issue is even more complicated, for Beza also records Erasmus' second conjecture, but only the last part of it (the inversion of καὶ τοῖς; from his first edition (1556) onwards). Apparently Beza himself did not read Erasmus' annotation attentively enough. In fact, Erasmus' second conjecture is indicated by Bowyer, van Manen en van de Sande Bakhuyzen with Beza's name and in Beza's casting (reduction) of it.

This passage turns up already in the discussion with Stunica,[79] and plays an important role in Erasmus' confrontation with the Spanish Inquisition.[80] It returns once again in the polemic with Titelmans.[81] The discussion centres around the question whether Erasmus denies Christ's divinity. Interestingly, it has some bearings on conjectural emendation.

In the Valladolid articles the accusation that Erasmus adheres to the Arian heresy of denying Christ's divinity is sustained by citations from the *Annotationes*, in which (a) Erasmus indicates that only in very few places in scripture Christ is clearly called 'God' and (b) he even treats passages such as Rom 9:5 in such a way that a clear statement of Christ's divinity is 'explained away'. In his *Apologia*, Erasmus first cites the 'obiectio':

> In Rom 9, though the apostle's authority is overly clear when he says about Christ, 'who is God blessed forever', and though this is the clear, simple and evident meaning, in which also, as even Erasmus testifies, all manuscripts agree, he has recourse to a most shameless tergiversation by saying, 'unless this clause has been added, in the same way as we find some of these added ...'[82]

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[79] The entire subject was initially brought up by Stunica, who objected to Erasmus' statement that "I do not know whether the name of 'God' is read clearly attributed to Christ anywhere in the writings of the apostles or the evangelists, except in two or three places" ("haud scio an usque legatur dei cognomen aperte tributum Christo in apostolorum aut euangelistarum literis, praeterquam in duobus aut tribus locis"—in the annotation 'In principio erat verbum' on John 1:1, ASD VI–6, p. 39 app.l. 177; the words are found in 1516 and 1519 and omitted from 1522 onwards). Rom 9:5 is the fifth New Testament text out of the ten of which Stunica claims that they clearly designate Christ as 'God' (Matt 1:23; John 1:1; 20:28; Acts 20:28; Rom 9:5; Phil 2:6; Col 2:9; Titus 2:13; Heb 1:8; 1 John 5:20). Erasmus discusses and rejects Stunica's claim in *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, pp. 126.128.130 ll. 342–425 (on Rom 9:5 see p. 128 ll. 382–386) and *Apolog. adv. Stun. Blasph. et imp.*, LB IX, cc. 362 F–363 B, and once again against Sanctius Caranza in *Apolog. c. Sanct. Caranz.*, LB IX, cc. 401–413.

[80] For the Valladolid articles and Erasmus' answer to them, see *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX, cc. 1043–1047. On the Valladolid conference, see Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne*, pp. 253–299 (on Rom 9:5, see p. 274) and Homza, 'Erasmus as Hero or Heretic'.

[81] *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, cc. 1002–1003.

[82] *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*: (Obiectio 12) "Ad Rom. IX cum sit patentissima auctoritas apostoli de Christo dicentis, *qui est Deus benedictus in secula*, et hic sit planus, simplex, manifestusque sensus, in quo etiam, ut idem Erasmus testatur, omnes codices consentiunt, ad impudentissimam tergiversationem confugit, ut dicat "nisi haec particula adiecta est, sicuti quasdam adiectas offendimus" etc. ..." (LB IX, c. 1043 D–E). Erasmus' comparison with the clauses which are often found added at the end of lectures is branded 'a most unfitting

Indeed, in the *Annotationes* before 1535, Erasmus plays with the thought that 'qui est super omnia deus' (ὁ ὤν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητός—supply εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας) may be a later addition to the epistle:

> However, in some places, clauses of this kind are found to be added, for example at the conclusion of a reading, just as it is customary for us to add 'You, O Lord, glory to the Father, glory to you, Lord,' so among the Greeks, at the end of the Lord's Prayer, there is added as a conclusion 'Yours is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever and ever. Amen.' In a similar way, the clause might seem to have been added to mark the conclusion of the argument and the beginning of a new section, were there not such great agreement among all the witnesses.[83]

Erasmus presents this conjecture in such a way that it seems to have been immediately rejected by him. This precaution can be seen as an instance of Erasmus' well-known *dissimulatio*. Erasmus really thought that something was wrong with this text, or that at least Rom 9:5 could not be seen as a clear proof of Paul stating Christ's divinity, but he choose to cloak this opinion by presenting it as a distant possibility ('might seem'—'videri poterat'), which is moreover clearly countered by the unanimity of the manuscripts. A remark he adds on Cyprian shows his real intentions: "Cyprian, however, in his second book *Against the Jews*, chapter 5, makes no mention of 'God' in citing this passage."[84]

In his defence against the charges of the Valladolid articles, Erasmus first declares that the issue is not the divinity of Christ itself, but the number of 'proof texts' for it contained in the Bible. In his paraphrases, Erasmus had carefully applied this text to

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analogy' ('ineptissimam analogiam').

[83] "Reperiuntur autem huiusmodi clausulae locis aliquot additae, velut ad finiendam lectionem, quemadmodum apud nos solenne est addere 'Tu autem domine, gloria patri, gloria tibi domine', sic apud Graecos ad calcem orationis dominicae hanc adiecerunt coronidem, 'Quia tuum est regnum, et potentia, et gloria in secula seculorum, amen'. Consimilem ad modum videri poterat haec addita clausula, ad finitam disputationis partem, et novi capitis initium, nisi tantus esset omnium exemplarium consensus" (1519; translation CWE 56, p. 251; the passage is left out in 1535). Perhaps it would be better to render 'locis aliquot' as 'at a number of places'. With a 'reading' ('lectio'), a lectionary reading is meant.

[84] "Quanquam Cyprianus adversus Iudaeios libro secundo, capite quinto, adducit hunc locum omissa dei mentione" (1519; translation CWE 56, p. 251). On the reference to Cyprian, see CWE 56, p. 249 n. 20.

Christ, and he does not fail to point this out too. In this way he
gains the freedom for what he nevertheless wants to say: Rom 9:5
does not clearly and unmistakably show Christ's divinity, for the
clause allows for different interpretations.[85]

Erasmus' apology, in this case, is remarkable, for he does not
repeat or defend his earlier conjecture.[86] He seems even to divert
attention from it by discussing the various punctuation possibili-
ties. All these aspects are carried over to the *Annotationes*; as a
consequence, the 1535 version of the annotation on Rom 9:5
differs considerably from its earlier form.

In his response to Titelmans, Erasmus repeats various points
from his earlier apology. He insists even more on the fact that he
himself rejects the idea of a later addition[87] and even suggests that
the whole point not be mentioned if it causes so much suspi-
cion.[88] It is indeed left out of the 1535 edition.

Even in its new 1535 form, however, the annotation has some
bearings on conjectural emendation, which deserve to be discus-
sed here.[89] Erasmus now starts with an exposition of the various

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[85] Erasmus' reasoning seems also to be guided by his impression that Paul
makes a clear distinction between the Father and the Son by reserving the word
'God' for the former and the word 'Lord' for the latter (see e.g. the annotation
'A Deo Patre nostro et Domino' on 2 Cor 1:2—ASD VI–8, pp. 327–328 ll. 7–8;
from 1516 onwards; see also the annotation 'Et unus dominus' on 1 Cor 8:6—
ASD VI–8, p. 194 ll. 685–688 and the annotation 'Gratia Domini' on 2 Cor
13:13—ASD VI–8, p. 474 l. 486; both added in 1527). Cf. van Poll–van de
Lisdonk's notes in ASD VI–8, p. 327 n.ll. 7–8 and p. 351 n.ll. 391–393.

[86] Erasmus withdraws the possibility that the doxology in Rom 9:5 is a later
addition, but with an appeal to the 'wandering doxology' (Rom 16:25–27) and
to stylistic considerations he upholds the view that it is not far-fetched to con-
sider doxologies such as these as secondary (*Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX,
c. 1047 B).

[87] *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, c. 1002 E: "I reject the idea about
added closing words, because of the unanimity of the manuscripts" ("De Coroni-
de adiecta reiicio, ex consensu codicum").

[88] *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, c. 1003 C: "[What is said] about
closing words, though I myself rejected it out of hand, could be left out, when I
see how immensely mistrustful people are" ("De coronide quanquam hoc ipse
statim reieci, poterit omitti, quando video tam impendio suspiciosos homines
esse").

[89] In 1535, Erasmus also still plays with the thought that ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων
θεός is a parenthetical remark (by Paul), made "in amazement at the profundity
of the divine counsel ..." ("ab admirante divini consilii profunditatem ..."), to be
set off from the remaining words ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα εὐλογητὸς εἰς
τοὺς αἰῶνας. Proposing this way of reading ('lectionem') is prudently called
'trifling' ('frivolum') (see CWE 56, pp. 244–245).

punctuation possibilities and the problems they entail. They are summarised in the following table.[90]

	punctuation	would be clearer if the text were
1	ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων. θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.	ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, <u>ὢν</u> ἐπὶ πάντων. <u>ὁ</u> θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
2	ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός, εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.	ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, <u>ὃς</u> ὢν (or <u>ἐστὶν</u>) ἐπὶ πάντων θεός, εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
3	ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα. ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.	(no change)

The first two possibilities explain the text as confirming Christ's divinity, but the first one, in which this divinity is only implied by his being 'above all', has a major flaw in that the period after πάν-των robs θεός of the article this word usually has. In the second, which reflects the meaning Stunica and others want to give to the text, the article ὁ connects the ὁ ὤν clause too loosely with the preceding ὁ Χριστός. The intended meaning would be the only possible one if the clause began with the relative pronoun ὅς (ὃς ὢν or even better ὅς ἐστίν).[91] The text being as it is, Erasmus himself prefers the third possibility: a period after σάρκα, which turns the rest of the verse into a straightforward doxology of God, in which only 'be' ('sit') is understood.[92]

Here we witness the kind of conjectural thinking to which Erasmus is often inclined. His reflections seem punctuated by the

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[90] The reception history of Erasmus' annotation is impressive, though his name is hardly ever mentioned. The passage has been much discussed (see e.g. Metzger, TC[2], pp. 459–462; TC[1], pp. 520–523; cf. Metzger, 'Punctuation') and the three interpretations discussed by Metzger agree with Erasmus' discussion; they ultimately derive from his annotation. All three possibilities can be found in English versions: the first in KJV, ASV and NRSV, the second in GB and the third in RSV, NEB and NAB. In Dutch versions, the second is found in the *Statenvertaling*, the *Lutherse vertaling*, NBG '51, GNB and KBS '95 and the third in the *Leidse vertaling* and KBS '75. The reversal of the 'Willibrord' to a more 'orthodox' translation is remarkable.

[91] Cf. Beza's comments on this verse (from his first edition (1556) onwards), according to which ὃς ὤν cannot be correct, unless ἐστιν is supplied after εὐλο-γητός. He even criticises Erasmus' bad command of Greek, for even a beginner should know that ὁ ὤν can actually stand for ὅς ἐστιν.

[92] Metzger remarks that such an asyndetic doxology (1) is unusual for Paul and (2) could do without the participle ὤν (TC[2], p. 461; TC[1], pp. 521–522).

question: what would the Greek be in order to express the meaning I (or others) think it should have? This question can lead the commentator in two directions: either the presumed meaning prevails and the conjecture stands, or the conjecture is not accepted and therefore the presumed interpretation cannot stand. In Erasmus' work, conjectural emendation and interpretation are sometimes inextricably interwoven.

1 Cor 4:6 (the annotation 'Ne supra quam scriptum est'): "so that (ἵνα) none of you will be puffed up (φυσιοῦσθε) in favor of one against another" (NRSV).

Here Erasmus comes across the combination ἵνα μὴ ... φυσιοῦσθε:

> It is unusual that ἵνα μή is followed by the indicative mood, unless perhaps φυσιοῦσθε is a corruption instead of φυσιοῖσθε, or unless here too the way of contraction varies, as it does in some other [places].[93]

This conjecture shows Erasmus' concern for correct grammar. Indeed, ἵνα followed by an indicative is as incorrect as is in French nowadays *'afin qu'il *vient*.' The form proposed by Erasmus, φυσιοῖσθε, appears to be optative, but it as also possible that he considered it, erroneously, to be subjunctive. He might also have suggested the attic φυσιῶσθε (cf. 1 Cor 16:2 εὐοδῶται). Be that as it may, according to modern grammatical insights, φυσιοῦσθε itself can be seen as subjunctive.[94] Therefore, no conjecture is necessary.[95] This insight is anticipated by Erasmus' second solution for the textual problem.

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[93] "Illud novum quod ἵνα μή indicandi modo adiungitur, nisi forte pro φυσιοῖσθε depravatum est φυσιοῦσθε, aut nisi variat hic quoque synaereseos ratio sicut in aliis nonnullis" (ASD VI–8, p. 86 ll. 754–756; from 1519 onwards).

[94] BDR §369.6: "Der Ind.Präs. nach ἵνα—nur als vl—ist im NT als Schreibfehler zu beurteilen"; §369$_{12}$: "... φυσιοῦσθε 1Kor 4,6 und ζηλοῦτε Gal 4,17 sind Konjunktive ..."; §91 (Verba auf -οῦν): "... besser bezeugt sind die wie Ind. aussehenden Konjunktive mit ου statt att. ω ..." Cf. van Poll–van de Lisdonk's notes to Erasmus' annotation in ASD VI–8, p. 87 n.l. 754 and n.ll. 754–755.

[95] Erasmus' Greek text has φυσιοῦσθε. The conjecture φυσιοῖσθε was taken over by Hugo Grotius (*Annotationes* 6, p. 310). It is mentioned without further comments by van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 273, following Georg Christian Knappius. Erasmus makes no remark on the similarly 'problematic' form ζηλοῦτε in Gal 4:17.

1 Cor 10:7 (the annotation 'Neque idololatrae efficiamini'): "Do not become idolaters (μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε) as some of them did" (NRSV).

In this verse, Erasmus conjectures γίνεσθαι for γίνεσθε, already in his first edition.[96] Simple stylistic and contextual reasoning underlies this conjecture: he wants to (re)establish the parallelism between εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν (verse 6) and μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε (verse 7). He is even more prompted to do so because of the repetition of καθώς τινες αὐτῶν. However the scope of Erasmus' comment is somewhat too limited, for in his following admonitions Paul alternates between first and second person plural again (verses 8–10),[97] each time repeating the example of 'our fathers' (verse 1). Since in verses 8–9 μηδέ is followed by a present subjunctive and not by an infinitive, a more logical stylistic correction would be γινώμεθα and not γίνεσθαι, which leaves εἰς τό to be understood as well. This would also remedy the conjecture's other flaw in that it also demands the accusative εἰδωλολάτρας instead of the nominative εἰδωλολάτραι.[98] However γινώμεθα, compared to γίνεσθε, would obviously fall outside the range of transcriptional proximity usually applied by Erasmus. Interestingly, in his first edition only Erasmus' translation "neque simulacrorum simus cultores" ("and let us not be worshippers of images") reflects his conjecture. Both annotation and translation seem to have been made *ex tempore*, but whereas the translation was changed to reflect the Greek, the annotation was not corrected, though a small 1527 addition shows that Erasmus actually noticed the occurrence of the second person plural in verse 10.[99]

1 Cor 15:2 (the annotation 'Si tenetis'): "... if you hold firmly to the message that I proclaimed to you—unless you have come to believe in vain" (NRSV).

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[96] ASD VI–8, p. 212 ll. 988–990.
[97] πορεύωμεν (8), ἐκπειράζωμεν (9), γογγύζετε (10; v.l. γογγύζωμεν). Erasmus' Greek text agrees with MCT.
[98] Cf. ASD VI–8, p. 213 n.ll. 988–990. Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.) notes that G reads εἰδωλολάτρας γίνεσθαι (as well as γογγύζωμεν in verse 10; cf. NA[27]); he also mentions Erasmus' support ('probante *Erasmo*') of γίνεσθαι.
[99] ASD VI–8, p. 212 l. 991.

The difficult construction here, τίνι λόγῳ εὐαγγελισάμεν εἰ κατέχετε, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῇ ἐπιστεύσατε, poses some problems:

> This place seems to have varied in the Greek copies. Ambrose [Ambrosiaster] reads 'you must keep'.[100] But perhaps ἦ should be read instead of εἰ: 'you surely keep'; or ἦ κατέχετε: 'as you keep', in the place of καθὼς κατέχετε. For this too sounds in Greek as ἦ, as the grammarians tell. But if this is not acceptable, something would have to be supplied: 'If you keep, which you by all means do, unless you have believed in vain.' We have shown some other examples of this kind in Paul's writings.[101]

Erasmus thus makes two conjectures on the Greek text.[102] Being familiar with the phenomenon of itacism, he first suggests ἦ ('truly'; to be distinguished from ἤ), and later adds the possibility of an adverbial ἦ ('how' or 'as'; cf. LSJ). The problem he feels is the double εἰ. It is indeed not very smooth, and may well be the incentive for the rise of the ὀφείλετε κατέχειν / 'tenere debetis' variant (cf. NA[27]). However he does not condemn the text he has, but only insists that for the first εἰ the aspect of a condition should not be stressed too much.[103]

Gal 2:2 (the annotation 'Qui videbantur aliquid'): "to them which were of reputation (τοῖς δοκοῦσιν)" (KJV).

In Paul's report on his visit to Jerusalem (Gal 2:1–11), the expression οἱ δοκοῦντες occurs four times in various forms (verses

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[100] Cf. NA[27]: the Greek reading ὀφείλετε κατέχειν is found in D*·c F G (clearly latinising; cf. a b t vg[ms]); Ambst. For Ambrosiaster, see *Comm. epist. Paul.* a.h.l. (CSEL 81/2, p. 164 ll. 11–12).

[101] "Hic locus videtur fuisse varius in Graecis exemplaribus. Ambrosius legit *tenere debetis*. Nisi forte est pro εἰ legendum ἦ, id est 'certe tenetis' aut ἦ κατέχετε, 'sicut tenetis' pro καθὼς κατέχετε. Nam id quoque Graecis sonare ἦ docent grammatici. Quod si non placet, erit nonnihil subaudiendum 'si tenetis, et utique tenetis, nisi frustra credidistis'. Huiusmodi quaedam in Paulinis scriptis et alias demonstravimus" (ASD VI–8, p. 284 ll. 322–327; from 1516 onwards; 'aut ἦ ... demonstravimus' added in 1519; in 1516, the annotation ends, erroneously, with 'nisi forte est εἰ legendum pro ἦ, id est certe tenetis').

[102] They are indicated by van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 283, following Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 344 (1812, p. 484). The Greek is not contested normally; only the τίνι λόγῳ is considered somewhat strange, especially as it seems dependent on εἰ κατέχετε. Bowyer records a conjecture by Thomas Mangey, who is said to propose ὅντινα for τίνι λογῷ (*Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 344; 1812, p. 484). One wonders what antecedent to ὅντινα Mangey may have had in mind.

[103] Blass, without knowing it, acts in an Erasmian spirit when he proposes to strike this εἰ (*Grammatik*, 1896, p. 285; cf. BDR § 478.1).

2.6a.6b.9). In his annotation on the first instance, Erasmus criticises the Vulgate reading 'qui videbantur aliquid [esse]' ('who seemed to be something') in verses 2 and 6b,[104] for it does not agree with the Greek, which has only τοῖς δοκοῦσιν. He then remarks:

> In Greek, τι, 'somewhat', is not added in the first and third instance; it is only added in the second instance: 'But of these who seemed to be something.' I do not know whether this has been added by someone who thought it was to be understood. However, the copies agree amazingly. ... Valla's guess, that it is a small addition, seems probable to me.[105]

Erasmus presents his case as if he concurs with a conjecture on the Greek text made by Valla. In fact, Valla does not make such a conjecture, but only remarks on the first and third instance of 'esse aliquid' in the Vulgate: "I do not know whether it has been added by the translator, or by someone else, as if it were understood."[106] Thus, without knowing it, Erasmus makes a conjecture on his own. Erasmus accepts the conjecture for two reasons which he makes fully clear only in 1519. Text-critically, the Vulgate addition in verse 2 makes him consider the same possibility for the Greek in verse 6a. In a 1519 addition, he even explains the Vulgate reading in verse 2 as an addition "by someone to whom the expression seemed to be incomplete."[107] Stylistically, the full expression οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι in verse 9 does not agree very well with τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι in verse 6a:

> And then, as Paul feels that they are held in great esteem, which he explains more clearly presently ('who seemed to be pillars'), how

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[104] Only part of the Vulgate transmission has 'aliquid esse' (or 'esse aliquid') in verses 2 and 6b. The addition seems to be a harmonisation with verse 6a, internal to the Vulgate.

[105] "Apud Graecos primo et tertio loco non additur τι, id est 'aliquid'; medio tantum loco additur, *ab iis autem qui videbantur esse aliquid.* Quod haud scio an adiectum fuerit ab quopiam qui putarit esse subaudiendum; tametsi mire consentiunt exemplaria. ... Mihi probabile videtur quod Valla coniectat, videlicet adiectitium esse" (from 1516 onwards; 'videlicet adiectitium esse' added in 1519; 'secundo' (sic) instead of 'tertio' in all editions except 1535).

[106] "Quod nescio an ab interprete, an ab alio sit adiectum, quasi subaudiretur"—Garin, 1, c. 875a. As can be seen, Valla does not question the Greek reading in verse 6a, but exposes the 'addition' of 'esse aliquid' in verses 2 and 6b, and mentions two possibilities for its origin.

[107] 1519: "abs quopiam, cui sermo videbatur parum absolutus."

will this correspond with this instance, 'who seemed to be some-thing'?[108]

Erasmus does not take into account that the author himself may have written εἶναί τι in verse 6a in order to anticipate the words ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν that follow immediately.[109] This is surprising, for in a separate annotation on Gal 2:6 ('Ab iis autem qui vide-bantur'), he suggests that Paul's parenthetical remark in that verse may have been inspired by the preceding εἶναί τι. At times, Eras-mus' annotations suffer from the fact that they were conceived and elaborated in isolation from one another. They never became an integrated running commentary on the entire text of the New Testament, and were of course never intended as such by Eras-mus.[110]

Interestingly, in a short 1527 addition, Erasmus implies a diffe-rent solution:

> However, I do not want to keep the reader in the dark on some-thing: because here in Greek τι is added once, it may have hap-pened that he here put 'something' with the same meaning with which Luke in Acts 5 says 'somebody' for 'great': 'For before these days rose Theudas, saying himself to be somebody.'[111]

Conjectural emendation is not only the result of interaction with the text; it can be part and parcel of such interaction, and exist happily alongside other comments on the text.

Jas 1:11 (the annotation 'Dives in itineribus eius'): "So will the rich man fade away in the midst of his pursuits (ἐν ταῖς πορείαις αὐτοῦ)" (RSV).

The note on this verse shows some characteristic reasoning:

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[108] "Deinde cum Paulus sentiat eos in magno precio habitos, quod mox aper-tius explicat *qui videbantur columnae esse*, quomodo congruet huic loco *qui videbantur esse aliquid*?" (1519).

[109] This oversight itself seems to be occasioned by Erasmus' concentration on τι/'aliquid'; he hardly mentions the second word εἶναι/'esse' which matters here in verse 6a.

[110] Erasmus differentiates explicitly between 'short annotations' ('annotatiun-culas') and 'a commentary' ('commentarios') in the preface to the *Annotationes* (ASD VI–5, p. 53 l. 10 (=EE 373, ll. 4–5); Ep. 373, ll. 5–6).

[111] "Ne quid tamen celem lectorem, quoniam apud Graecos semel hic additur τι, fieri potest ut eodem sensu posuerit hic 'aliquid' quo Lucas in Actis quinto dixit 'aliquem' pro 'magno': *Ante hos enim dies extitit Theudas dicens se esse aliquem*." The reference is to Acts 5:36.

πορείαις. See whether πορίαις could be read, in order to have 'in abundance'. This would surely seem more appropriate for the meaning.[112]

Erasmus proposes πορίαις instead of πορείαις, but this word, with the meaning he wants to give it, does not exist in Greek. It would actually be no more than an itacistic misspelling for πορείαις.[113] It seems that Erasmus' experience with itacisms allows him to infer and adopt the reading he prefers.[114] This is confirmed by the ease with which he defends his idea against Stunica's criticisms:

> The Greek is πορείαις. If you omit ε, it will be πορίαις and express 'by the abundances'. Which we have followed, because it fitted better to the meaning. Stunica prefers the old reading. No one objects to the fact that he takes delight in this reading, which is not condemned by me either.[115]

A similar word with the meaning Erasmus intends would be εὐπορίαις,[116] but the proposal as it stands is incorrect. It may be doubted whether he would have considered it a conjecture.

Jas 4:2 (the annotation 'Occiditis et zelatis'): "You want something and do not have it; so you commit murder (φονεύετε). And you covet something and cannot obtain it; so you engage in disputes and conflicts. You do not have, because you do not ask" (NRSV).

Erasmus' most influential conjecture is found here. He writes:

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[112] "πορείαις. Vide num legi possit πορίαις, ut sit 'in abundantia'. Certe ad sensum videretur accommodatius" (from 1516 onwards; 'Certe ... accommodatius' added in 1522).

[113] πορίαις can be found in several manuscripts; cf. Ti⁸.

[114] Erasmus even followed his own conjecture in his paraphrase, see ASD VII–6, p. 126 ll. 117–119 and p. 127 n.ll. 117–119. ECM lists some interesting variants for πορείαις found in manuscripts: εὐπορείαις (2180. 2464); πονηρίαις (88. 1850); παρειμειαις (L623) (not a Greek word); ταλαιπωρίαις (L921).

[115] "Graece est πορείαις. Quod si tollas ε erit πορίαις et sonabit *abundantiis*. Quod quoniam ad sensum magis quadrabat, sequuti sumus. Stunicae magis placet vetus lectio. Nullus obstat quominus ea fruatur, quae nec a me damnatur" (*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 246 ll. 324–327).

[116] εὐπορίαις is actually found in some manuscripts; see ECM. In a private communication (May 2004) van Poll–van de Lisdonk suggests that Erasmus may have formed πορία by simply omitting the alpha privative of ἀπορία (which can mean 'need' or 'poverty').

φονεύετε καὶ ζηλοῦτε. I do not see how this word 'you kill' makes
sense here. Perhaps there was written φθονεῖτε and ζηλοῦτε, that
is, 'you are jealous and you seek, and you cannot obtain', and so [I
conclude that] a sleeping scribe wrote φονεύετε instead of φθο-
νεῖτε; especially since there follows 'the spirit desires jealously'
[verse 5]. Anyhow, Bede does not touch on these words 'you desire
and you do not have, you kill, and you seek.[117]

Erasmus' words are rather succinct here. The reference to the
words πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα in verse 5 is somewhat
confusing at first sight; it actually serves as an additional reason
for the conjecture, for it shows that the stem φθον- occurs in the
context.

Since the focus of the present investigation is Erasmus' way of
doing conjectural emendation, this is not the place to discuss the
intrinsic merits of φθονεῖτε. It is sufficient to observe here that it
deserves its place in the critical apparatus of any modern edition
of the Greek New Testament. Modern commentators still point
out the harshness of φονεύετε in the context of Jas 2,[118] and
Erasmus' conjecture itself has an impressive reception history.[119]

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[117] "φονεύετε καὶ ζηλοῦτε. Non video quid illud verbum *occiditis* ad sensum
faciat. Forte scriptum fuit, φθονεῖτε et ζηλοῦτε, id est 'Invidetis et aemulamini,
et non potestis consequi', ut scriptor dormitans pro φθονεῖτε scripserit φονεύ-
ετε, praesertim cum sequatur *ad invidiam, concupiscit spiritus*. Certe Beda haec
verba, *concupiscitis et non habetis, occiditis et zelatis*, non attingit." From 1516
onwards; the last sentence, 'Certe Beda ... attingit', is added in 1527; it is a
reference to the commentary on the New Testament by the Venerable Bede,
who indeed does not question the reading 'belligeratis' (see *In Epistolas VII
Catholicas*, CCSL 121, p. 211 ll. 13–19). In Erasmus' annotation the Latin 'et'
ligature between φθονεῖτε and ζηλοῦτε should perhaps have been the Greek καί
(cf. the Latin translation after 'id est'), but it was never corrected.

[118] E.g. Christoph Burchard, *Jakobusbrief*, p. 168.

[119] The conjecture was accepted by Martin Luther in his translation (see WA
Bibel, 7, pp. 396–397). John Calvin writes: "While some manuscripts have
φονεύετε, I do not doubt that φθονεῖτε must be read, as I have rendered, for
the verb 'to kill' can in no way be applied to the context" ("Ubi quidam codices
habent φονεύετε, non dubito quin legendum sit φθονεῖτε, quemadmodum
transtuli. Occidendi enim verbum nullo modo aptari potest ad contextum"—CO
33, c. 415). Calvin clearly depends on Erasmus, but his commentary has led
some to the misunderstanding that the conjecture is his (e.g. Wettstein, *Prolego-
mena*, p. 172 and *NTG* a.h.l., attributing the conjecture φονεύετε to Erasmus).
Beza also accepts the conjecture in all his editions: he adopts Erasmus' 'invidetis'
in his translation, even though the Greek (from the second edition onwards)
remains φονεύετε, just as in Erasmus' case. The conjecture is also found in the
Dutch *Statenvertaling* (preceded by the *Deuxaes Bible* (1587)), and for instance
also implied by Berger/Nord ("Ihr giert und geifert"). In general, it is widely

Interesting are also the traces of this conjecture in Erasmus' own editions. In 1516, the received text φονεύετε is printed, as well as the Vulgate's 'occiditis'. In the 1519 edition, however, the text is adapted to the annotation: the conjecture φθονεῖτε is printed, as well as its Latin counterpart 'invidetis' ('you are jealous'). In subsequent editions, the Greek text is again φονεύετε, but surprisingly Erasmus' translation remained in accordance with the conjecture. Erasmus also followed his conjecture in his paraphrase.[120] This confirms two aspects of his editing work, firstly that his 1519 edition is the most 'radical' one, and secondly that Erasmus' editorial principle is to print the Greek text as he finds it in his manuscripts, and not to alter it, no matter how strong his conviction may be that it is not correct.

What surprises is the ease with which Erasmus presents his conjecture, and the fact that his contemporary critics do not attack him on this point. Apparently, there is no problem concerning the 'right' of conjectural emendation. The principle is not contested, only—at times—its application.

Further important aspects of this conjecture are Erasmus' caution, indicated by the word 'perhaps' ('forte'), and his strictly contextual reasoning, both in diagnosis and remedy. He correctly spots a word, φονεύετε, that seems to be out of tune with the rest of the paragraph. It is this impression of impasse ('I do not see'— 'non video') that makes him look for a conjectural solution. His emendation φθονεῖτε is inspired by the word φθόνον in verse 5; it allows him also to remain within the limits of 'transcriptional probability': the change from φθονεῖτε to φονεύετε is small enough to be attributed to a 'sleeping copyist'.

Jas 4:15 (the annotation 'Si dominus voluerit')

A remarkable conjecture can be found on this verse. Erasmus writes:

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accepted on the continent, and is also followed by early English translations (from Tyndale to the Geneva Bible), but not by the KJV. A striking indication of its reception history can be found in ECM IV.1.1, where φθονεῖτε is indicated as a marginal reading in a sixteenth-century manuscript, min. 918. I do not doubt the correctness of this collation, but this reading probably does not antedate Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum*, or more precisely, his 1519 *Novum Testamentum* (cf. Christoph Burchard, *Jakobusbrief*, p. 168).

[120] ASD VII–6, p. 148 l. 747: 'invidetis assequuto'; cf. p. 149 n.l. 747.

> The Greek has ἐὰν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ καὶ ζήσωμεν, καὶ ποιήσωμεν τοῦτο, ἢ ἐκεῖνο, that is: 'If the Lord wishes, and we live and we do this or that.' But I do not know whether the Greek is corrupt here and it should read καὶ ζήσομεν, καὶ ποιήσομεν, that is: 'And we will live and do', in order that you understand that we will neither live or do anything unless the Lord wishes it. Unless we prefer to take ζήσωμεν, καὶ ποιήσωμεν as an imperative, that is: 'let us live and do.'[121]

Erasmus suggests that the Greek should have the indicative mood (ζήσομεν and ποιήσομεν) instead of the subjunctive (ζήσωμεν and ποιήσωμεν). The reason for this idea is clear from the translation he provides: he wants the two verbs to form the main clause, with only θελήσῃ in the subordinate clause, depending on ἐάν. This is indeed the modern critical text, mainly based on the great majuscules ℵ A B. Does Erasmus know about this reading, or is he making a conjecture? The latter is more probable, as he shows no awareness at all of the existence of such a reading. In this example, then, Erasmus' conjectural reasoning anticipates the MCT.

Important is Lee's reaction to this conjecture. Lee takes Erasmus' words "I do not know whether the Greek is corrupt here" as proof that the Greek manuscripts cannot be relied upon. Erasmus is willing to concede that, but not one-sidedly: if the Greek manuscripts cannot be trusted, neither can the Latin ones.[122] He detects a sufficient amount of corruption in all manuscripts to reserve a place for conjectural emendation, but the fact that he uses it should not have any bearing on the question whether the Vulgate

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[121] "Graeca sic habent, ἐὰν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ καὶ ζήσωμεν, καὶ ποιήσωμεν τοῦτο, ἢ ἐκεῖνο, id est 'si dominus voluerit, et vixerimus, et fecerimus hoc aut illud'. Sed haud scio an Graeca hoc loco sint depravata, legendumque καὶ ζήσομεν, καὶ ποιήσομεν, id est 'et vivemus, et faciemus', ut intelligas, nec victuros, nec facturos aliquid, nisi dominus voluerit. Nisi malimus accipere imperative, ζήσωμεν, καὶ ποιήσωμεν, id est 'vivamus et faciamus' " (from 1516 onwards; 'legendumque' from 1527 onwards instead of 'legendum'; in 1516, a short annotation on the words 'nunc autem exultatis' and 'omnis exultatio' (verse 16) was erroneously put between 'depravata' and 'legendum'; it was simply omitted in 1519). In the 1516 edition, the Greek text is the Byzantine reading indicated in this annotation (without the commas after ζήσωμεν and τοῦτο), while the Latin translation is "si dominus voluerit, et si vixerimus, faciamus hoc aut illud", which simply retains the Vulgate reading Erasmus has. There are no noteworthy changes in later editions.

[122] *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 270 ll. 798–800.

is to be preferred over the Greek text. He ends his reaction to Lee with yet another conjecture:

> But there would be no inconvenience if we read in this way, leaving out a single conjunction: ἐὰν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ καὶ ζήσωμεν, ποιήσομεν τοῦτο, that is, 'If the Lord wishes and we live, we will do this.'[123]

This conjecture has a somewhat different nature: it simply adapts the Greek to one of the interpretations of it, in this case the one found in the Vulgate.[124]

A remarkable concentration of conjectures can be found in Erasmus' treatment of 1 Pet 3, which has remained a storm-centre of New Testament textual criticism.[125]

1 Pet 3:20 (the annotation 'Quando expectabant dei patientiam'): "who formerly did not obey, when God's patience waited (ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία) in the days of Noah" (RSV).

Erasmus' treatment of this verse offers a remarkable insight in his editorial practice and the way he revised and enlarged his annotations over the years. In its final form the annotation is as follows (for the sake of discussion its layers are indicated):

> [1516] ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία, that is: 'When God's patience was awaited' ['expectaretur' (subj.)], although some manuscripts had ὅτι. [1527] In the other Constance manuscript it was 'God's patience was awaited' ['expectabatur' (ind.)], as the

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[123] "Nihil autem erit incommodi si legamus hunc in modum sublata unica coniunctione: ἐὰν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ καὶ ζήσωμεν, ποιήσομεν τοῦτο, id est, *si Dominus voluerit et vixerimus, faciemus hoc*"—*Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 270 ll. 801–804.

[124] According to Ti⁸, Erasmus' second conjecture is simply the reading reflected by the Vulgate (and the *Statenvertaling*). An even easier conjecture would be the omission of the first καί, together with the two indicative tenses: "If the Lord wishes, we will live and do." This interpretation (or conjecture) is found reflected in many translations, e.g. KJV, RSV, NRSV, NAB; only a few translations try to bring out the force of the first καί (e.g. ASV and NASB). ECM mentions three minuscules for its omission.

[125] E.g. 1 Pet 3:18 (ἔπαθεν or ἀπέθανεν etc.) and 1 Pet 3:19 (Ἑνώχ?). Besides the conjectures discussed below, Erasmus also comments on the Greek behind Augustine's reading 'spiritus dei' (in *Faust.* 22.20, see CSEL 25, p. 610 l. 7) instead of 'voluntas dei'—τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ in 1 Pet 3:17, speculating that one scribe changed θέλημα into νεῦμα, which was changed by yet another into πνεῦμα (in the annotation 'Melius est enim ut benefacientes, si voluntas dei velit'; 1527).

Greek read. [1519] On the other hand, in many [Greek manu-scripts] it was ἅπαξ ἐδέχετο instead of ἀπεξεδέχετο. [1522] I sus-pect that ἅπαξ ἐξεδέχετο was to be read. [1535] In his 99th letter Augustine reads: '[God's patience] waited' ['expectabat' (act.)]. For the verb is middle.[126]

This annotation is marked by two concerns, namely (1) the cor-rect understanding and thus the correct Latin translation of ἀπεξ-εδέχετο, ἐδέχετο or ἐξεδέχετο and (2) the correct Greek rea-ding, ἀπεξεδέχετο, ἅπαξ ἐδέχετο or ἅπαξ ἐξεδέχετο.

Erasmus' original note (perhaps a marginal annotation to his Vulgate) probably contained the usual Greek reading ὅτε ἀπεξε-δέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία, glossed as 'cum expectaretur dei longanimitas' ('when God's patience was awaited') instead of the Vulgate reading Erasmus knew, 'quando expectabant dei patien-tiam' ('when they awaited God's patience'). This latter reading is a corruption compared to 'quando expectabat dei patientia' ('when God's patience waited'), the original and correct transla-tion of the Greek,[127] but Erasmus failed to notice this. He correc-ted one error but committed another by not realising that the verb ἐκδέχομαι occurs only in the middle voice with active mean-ing.[128] He erroneously analysed ἐξεδέχετο as a passive voice[129] and translated it accordingly. Perhaps a tendency to stay close to the meaning of the corrupt Vulgate reading ('they awaited God's patience') facilitated the grammatical error. In 1527 he even added some Latin attestation for this correction of 'expectabant' ('they awaited') into 'expectabatur' ('[it] was awaited'), but only in 1535 did he add the idea, inspired by Augustine, that 'expecta-

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[126] "[1516] ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μακροθυμία, id est 'cum expectare-tur Dei lenitas'; etiamsi nonnulli codices habebant ὅτι. [1527] In altero Constan-tiensi erat *expectabatur Dei patientia*, quemadmodum legunt Graeci. [1519] Rursum in plerisque erat ἅπαξ ἐδέχετο pro ἀπεξεδέχετο. [1522] Suspicor legendum fuisse ἅπαξ ἐξεδέχετο. [1535] Augustinus epistola nonagesima nona legit *expectabat*. Nam verbum est medium." In 1516, 'longanimitas' instead of 'lenitas' (and the printing error ἢ instead of ἡ).

[127] Cf. vg[ww], Beza's annotation (in all his editions) and Guilelmus Estius (*Commentarii* 3, p. 546b).

[128] Also pointed out by Estius (*Commentarii* 3, p. 546b). Estius states erro-neously that the reading ἅπαξ ἐξεδέχετο occurs in many manuscripts—a nice example of the tendency to simply assume that the *Textus Receptus* is based on good manuscript evidence. Beza also ignores the fact that it is a conjecture.

[129] In fact ἐκδέχομαι cannot be used in the passive voice (but cf. παρεδέχθη-σαν or ἀπεδέχθησαν in Acts 15:4).

bat' ('[it] waited') may be the correct translation of the middle verb.[130] However he did not change his translation.

The Greek text printed in 1516, ἅπαξ ἐδέχετο (translated as 'semel expectabatur'), was taken over from min. 2815 (min. 2ᵃᵖ) in which Erasmus also found the reading ὅτι (instead of ὅτε). This reading was not adopted, but mentioned in the annotation. The haste with which the first edition was made can be seen in the fact that Erasmus' printed Greek text (ἅπαξ ἐδέχετο) does not agree with the Greek on which his original annotation was based (ἀπεξεδέχετο). In the preparation of his second edition, Erasmus noted the incongruity between the annotation and the printed Greek text. He therefore added information on the existence of the variant reading ἅπαξ ἐδέχετο to his note. At the same time, however, the printed Greek text was changed into ἅπαξ ἐξεδέχετο,[131] a reading unknown from Greek manuscripts.[132] Only in the third edition did he indicate the conjectural nature of ἅπαξ ἐξεδέχετο. It is actually based on the two readings ἅπαξ ἐδέχετο and ἀπεξεδέχετο. Again Erasmus combined a correct insight with an error: he felt correctly that the simple verb δέχομαι does not fit in this context, which requires the meaning 'to wait' also attested in the Vulgate, but failed to spot the logical direction of the textual corruption, which goes from ἀπεξεδέχετο to ἅπαξ ἐδέχετο (ᴧΠ

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[130] Augustine, *Epist.* 164 (CSEL 44, p. 522 l. 12—the number 99 is the old number from before the new chronological classification applied in the Maurists' edition). Erasmus edited Augustine's letters for the second volume of the Froben edition of Augustine's works (1528). In his own annotation on 1 Pet 3:20, Beza scorns Erasmus for his incorrect translation, made "though he had read this passage in Augustine's letter" ("quum hunc Augustini locum legisset"; from his first edition (1556) onwards). This criticism shows that Beza read Erasmus' annotation only in its final form.

[131] In the translation, only 'longanimitas' is changed into 'lenitas', as in the annotation.

[132] ECM erroneously cites Pseudo-Oecumenius for Erasmus' conjecture (cf. Ti⁸), as it relies on Migne's PG for his readings (here PG 119, p. 557 D 12). Migne however relies on earlier editions, and these earlier editions are unmistakably influenced by Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*. In this case, the small effort of consulting Wettstein's *NTG* would have prevented the ECM editors from making this error, for Wettstein not only indicates the general dependency (*NTG* I, p. 78), but also this case in particular in his apparatus a.h.l.: "... [a conjecture], which the editor of Oecumenius has followed against the manuscripts" ("... [conjecturam], quam secutus est editor Oecumenii contra MSS"; Wettstein uses the Paris edition of 1631). The same is stated by Delitzsch: "[D]as ἅπαξ ἐξεδέχετο in patristischen Drucken stammt aus dem erasmischen Texte" (*Handschriftliche Funde* 1, p. 6 n. 1).

ЄΞΔЄΧЄΤΟ—ΔΠΔΞЄΧЄΤΟ). His conjecture ἅπαξ ἐξε-
δέχετο is the natural outcome.[133] For some reason he wanted to
adopt the word ἅπαξ (cf. 1 Pet 3:18), for otherwise he could have
adopted the attested reading ἀπεξεδέχετο. The conjecture was to
become the reading of the *Textus Receptus*.[134]

1 Pet 3:21 (the annotation 'Quod et vos nunc similis formae sal-
vos fecit baptisma'): "... a few, that is, eight persons, were saved
through water. Baptism, which corresponds to this, now saves
you" (RSV).[135]

Another, rather simple conjecture can be found here. Erasmus
writes:

> The Greek has more clearly ὃ ἀντίτυπον νῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σῴζει βάπ-
> τισμα, that is: 'to which now similar (or corresponding) baptism
> also saves us.' For σῴζει is present tense, 'he saves'. Further, ὅ
> corresponds harshly, whether you have it refer to the water or to
> the baptism. Perhaps ᾧ, 'to which', was written.[136]

Here, Erasmus perceives a problem, though it is not clear whether
it concerns the meaning of the sentence or its grammar. If one
begins translating 'which correspondingly now saves also you (or
us)', the word βάπτισμα remains somewhat 'in the air'; the three
parallel elements ὅ, ἀντίτυπον and βάπτισμα are not easy to con-
strue into a correct sentence. As far as the meaning is concerned,
the subject of σῴζει can be either the relative ὅ or βάπτισμα.[137]

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[133] Comparable to another variant reading recorded in ECM, ἅπαξ ἀπεδέ-
χετο, Erasmus' conjecture is only a little better, for the reading ἀπεξεδέχετο
may then appear as the result of a simple scribal oversight.

[134] It is not mentioned by Bowyer, van Manen or van de Sande Bakhuyzen,
though Wettstein mentions it (*NTG* a.h.l.). Tischendorf (Ti[8]) suspects an Eras-
mian conjecture, while Delitzsch refers to the *Annotationes* (*Handschriftliche
Funde* 1, p. 6 n. 1).

[135] MCT has ὑμᾶς against 𝔐 ἡμᾶς.

[136] "Graeca plus habent lucis ὃ ἀντίτυπον νῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σῴζει βάπτισμα, id
est, 'cui nunc simile, sive respondens baptisma, nos quoque salvos facit'. Est
enim σῴζει praesentis temporis, 'servat'. Caeterum ὅ dure respondet, sive ad
aquam referas, sive ad baptisma; fortasse scriptum fuit ᾧ cui" (from 1516
onwards; in 1516 only ὑμᾶς and 'vos' instead of ἡμᾶς and 'nos' (not noted by
Reeve) and 'salvat' instead of 'servat'). The Greek text cited (and also printed in
1516) by Erasmus depends on min. 2815; it has an order other than the usual
one (ὃ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σῴζει βάπτισμα). The latter order was intro-
duced in 1522.

[137] Cf. Bo Reicke's words on verse 21a: "The language is ... extremely diffi-
cult and it has been discussed endlessly within research with no satisfactory

One would prefer the latter, since the former seems to refer to the water of the deluge (3:20). Erasmus proposes a simple change from ὅ to ᾧ. In a way, his conjecture is translational, though not Vulgate-inspired. When Erasmus makes his own independent translation, he writes the dative case 'cui' ('to which') as naturally concomitant with 'simile' or 'respondens', his rendering of ἀντί-τυπον.[138] On second thought ('caeterum'), he realises that his 'cui' does not reflect the Greek nominative ὅ. He then concludes that the Greek is problematic, and suggests a small change which would fully justify his translation. The conjecture has an important reception history.[139]

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result" (*Spirits*, p. 143). Reicke uses an entire chapter ('VI. An Appositional Antecedent Incorporated in a Relative Clause', pp. 149–172) to demonstrate a grammatical construction that allows βάπτισμα to be the subject of σῴζει.

[138] Van Manen (*Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 339), following Knappius, erroneously gives οὗ as the Erasmian conjecture for ᾧ. Consulting some older sources, preferably Erasmus' own editions or LB VI, but even Bowyer (*Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 459; 1812, p. 602), would have shown him that the latter is precisely Erasmus' conjecture. Bowyer also mentions Claudius Salmasius and (Patricius) Junius (Peter Young) in support of Erasmus' conjecture. It seems that the attribution of the reading οὗ to Erasmus stems from a double misunderstanding of Wettstein's first apparatus (*NTG* a.h.l.). First, Wettstein indicates that οὗ is a marginal reading in min. 1 ("οὗ 1. in ora") and adds "Erasmus made a conjectural emendation" ("emendavit Erasmus ex conjectura"). This may seem to mean that this marginal reading οὗ itself is Erasmus' emendation, but it actually means that Erasmus corrected it by proposing and introducing ᾧ. Second, Wettstein then cites Erasmus' annotation until the words "fortasse scriptum fuit ᾧ cui", and adds: "But if Peter had wanted this, he would have written οὗ, not ᾧ" ("Id autem si voluisset Petrus, scripsisset οὗ, non ᾧ"). As no quotation marks are used, these words may seem to be part of the citation, but they are actually Wettstein's own comment.

[139] Erasmus' conjecture was to become the reading of the later *Textus Receptus*. LB VI and Stephanus' third edition (1550) still have ὅ, that is, the reading of Erasmus' editions, but with the more usual word order καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν. ECM gives some manuscripts, all minuscules, for both ᾧ and Erasmus' word order ἀντίτυπον νῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς. It does however not seem likely that Erasmus himself had a manuscript source when he first made his conjecture. While it cannot be excluded that Erasmus knew ᾧ from a minuscule, Francis Beare's statement that "the dative is found in a large number, probably a majority, of the inferior cursives" (*First Epistle of Peter*, p. 148) is not correct. The Complutensian Polyglot has ω, but in this case it is not clear whether this reading is based on an editorial conjecture or a manuscript. Beza's annotation, in his first edition (1556) already, shows that he accepted ᾧ, following Erasmus' judgement and explicitly referring to the Complutensian edition. When in the second edition the Greek text was added, ᾧ was indeed adopted. Through Beza's editions ᾧ became the reading of the Elzevir editions. Erasmus' conjecture is accepted by Hort; see 'Notes', p. 102. Perhaps its presence in both the Complutensian edition and Erasmus' 1516 annotation presents us with a striking instance of shared

5.3 OTHER CASES

In several annotations, Erasmus betrays conjectural reasoning, without however suggesting or adopting pure conjectures. They still are important for the understanding of Erasmus' approach to the text.

John 4:54 (the annotation 'Hoc iterum secundum'): "This is again the second sign that Jesus did" (ASV).

In this text, Erasmus senses that τοῦτο πάλιν δεύτερον σημεῖον ('this again the second sign') is not ideally formulated:

> It could seem that [the evangelist] said that Jesus did two second signs and that one of these words is superfluous, even if the Greek has it thus.[140]

This is the kind of observation that can easily induce conjectural emendation. Instead, Erasmus elaborates on Chrysostom's efforts to overcome the difficulty.

Acts 22:14 (the annotation 'Praeordinavit te'): "The God of our fathers appointed (προεχειρίσατο) you [Paul]" (RSV).

In this text, Erasmus plays with an alternative to προεχειρίσατο:

> Προεχειρίσατο, 'he has prepared you' or 'he made you ready beforehand', unless someone prefers προεκυρώσατο, 'he has established beforehand'. For the rest, this was not in any of the Greek manuscripts.[141]

This is an astonishing suggestion, at first sight. "Unless someone prefers προεκυρώσατο, 'he has established beforehand'." If this is a conjecture, which Erasmus offers for those who like it, it would betray a very loose concept of the text of the New Testament. Another interpretation of this annotation is possible, however.

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independent contemporary authorship. In any case, the conjecture is a relatively obvious solution for the textual problem in 1 Pet 3:21.

[140] "Videri poterat dixisse Iesum duo secunda signa fecisse et altera vox superesse, etiamsi Graeca sic habent" (ASD VI–6, p. 80 ll. 165–166; from 1519 onwards).

[141] "Προεχειρίσατο, id est: 'praeparavit te' sive 'prius apparavit te'; nisi quis malit προεκυρώσατο, id est 'prius statuit'. Caeterum id non erat in ullis Graecorum exemplaribus" (ASD VI–6, pp. 315–316 ll. 129–131; from 1516 onwards).

We have here something between a criticism of the Vulgate and yet another instance of an inferred, retroverted reading. The meaning is: if one wants to read the idea of predestination into this text, one will have to surmise a Greek verb such as προκυ-ϱόομαι.[142] Thus Erasmus uses his skills as a textual critic to dismiss subtly any idea of 'absolute predestination.' Later, no doubt influenced by Lee's criticisms, Erasmus retracts this suggestion somewhat, and simply states that this text has very little to do with predestination.[143] He keeps insisting on a down-to-earth rendering of προεχειρίσατο, which he holds to be genuine. It can be noted in passing that dogmatic concerns normally do not constitute a reason for Erasmus to resort to conjectural emendation; there have to be real textual reasons for the latter.

Acts 24:6–8 (the annotation 'Quem et apprehensum ...')

In the Jewish attorney Tertullus's speech before the Roman governor Felix (24:2–8), there is a split in the Byzantine tradition: in part of it, Lysias's intervention is narrated as part of the accusation against Paul, while in another it is omitted. In 1516, Erasmus writes on the addition:

> All these [words] were missing in many Greek copies. I found them added in only one, but written very small and in the margin; and we have added them from there, as [they may have been] omitted through the negligence of the copyists, while at this place nothing offended Valla.[144]

This annotation explains why the TR has the longer text. Erasmus actually took the words from the margin of min. 2816, only changing κελεύσας into the unattested κελεύων (the former was

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[142] The verb προκυϱόομαι occurs only once in the NT, to wit προκεκυϱω-μένην in Gal 3:17.

[143] Cf. *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 216 ll. 393–399 and Hovingh's note to this annotation in ASD VI–6, p. 315 n.ll. 129–135. In the 1522 edition, Erasmus adds to his note: 'My annotation does not even exclude predestination [as such], but it only explains a characteristic of a Greek word. ...' ('Nec annotatio mea excludit praedestinationem, sed explicat proprietatem Graecae vocis. ...'—ASD VI–6, p. 316 ll. 133–134).

[144] "Haec omnia deerant in multis exemplaribus Graecis. In uno duntaxat reperi adscripta, sed minutissimis formulis, idque in spacio marginali. Unde et adiecimus velut omissa librariorum incuria praesertim, cum hoc loco nihil offenderit Laurentium" (ASD VI–6, p. 324 ll. 325–327 and app.; 1516–1519). Valla only comments on Acts 24:5.14.22 (Garin, 1, cc. 853b–854a).

restored by Stephanus).[145] The latter part of the 1516 annotation
is replaced in 1522 by a longer addition, in which Erasmus ex-
presses his doubt about the genuineness of the longer text:

> It is possible that someone added it from the story in the previous
> chapter, where it says: 'And when the dissension had become great,
> the tribune, fearing that Paul would be torn in pieces, ordered the
> soldiers to go down and take him by force from their midst' [Acts
> 23:10]. Or rather from Lysias's letter: 'When this man was seized
> by the Jews and was about to be killed by them, I came with the
> army and rescued him' [Acts 23:27].[146]

These remarks confirm Erasmus' keen eye for harmonisations and
marginal glosses, but the influence of the two texts he indicates
can only be indirect. Moreover, it would not be in Tertullus's
interest to draw attention to the violence with which Paul had
been rescued by the Romans.[147] This may have been felt by Eras-
mus, for when he is not satisfied with the shorter text either, he
proposes an intermediate solution:

> Further on, as the arrangement of the text does not seem to be
> coherent when these words are left out, it is different. For it can be
> read thus: 'Whom we, after having him seized, wanted to judge
> according to our law, from whom, when you judge [him] yourself,
> you can learn concerning all this.' Paul's arrest had been men-
> tioned, and here he returns to him [by saying] 'from whom you can
> [learn]'. It was not necessary to narrate that he was led before
> Felix, for that was selfexplanatory.[148]

This is actually a conjectural solution, intended on the one hand
to bridge the gap between Paul's 'arrest' by the non-christian Jews

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[145] See Brown's note in ASD VI–2, p. 455 note to verses 6–8.
[146] "Fieri potest, ut aliquis adiecerit e narratione capitis prioris, ubi legitur:
*Et quum magna dissensio facta esset, timens tribunus, ne discerperetur Paulus,
iussit milites descendere et rapere eum de medio eorum.* Aut potius ex epistola
Lysiae: *Virum hunc comprehensum a Iudaeis, et incipientem interfici ab eis,
superveniens cum exercitu eripui*" (ASD VI–6, p. 324 ll. 337–341). Hovingh
indicates that the changes in the 1522 edition are prompted by Lee's criticism
(cf. *Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 218 ll. 430–447).
[147] Acts 24:7 μετὰ πολλῆς βίας; cf. 23:10 ἁρπάσαι.
[148] "Porro quod his e medio sublatis non videtur cohaerere sermonis ordo,
secus habet. Potest enim sic legi: 'quem et apprehensum voluimus secundum
legem nostram iudicare, a quo poteris iudicans ipse de omnibus istis cognoscere'.
De Paulo comprehenso fuerat mentio, et "illum" hic repetit *a quo poteris*. Nec
erat opus narrare illum deductum ad Felicem, quum id ipsa res loqueretur"
(ASD VI–6, p. 324 ll. 341–346; 'erat' is changed into 'erit' in 1535).

(cf. Acts 21:27–30) and the fact that he is now being judged by the Roman governor, and on the other hand to leave out the superfluous elements in the attested addition. For the purpose of comparison, the following table shows Erasmus' proposal along-side the two text-forms that are known from the manuscript tradition.

Short text (MCT; Byz^pt)	Long text (Byz^pt)	Erasmus' proposal
... ὃν καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν,	... ὃν καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον ἠθελήσαμεν κρίναι. παρελθὼν δὲ Λυσίας ὁ χιλί-αρχος μετὰ πολλῆς βίας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἀπήγαγεν, κελεύσας τούς κατηγόρους αὐτοῦ ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ σέ,	... ὃν καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον ἠθελήσαμεν κρίναι,
παρ᾿ οὗ δυνήσῃ αὐτός ...	παρ᾿ οὗ δυνήσῃ αὐτός ...	παρ᾿ οὗ δυνήσῃ αὐτός ...

To modern eyes, this is an astonishing text-critical procedure by Erasmus. His only criterion (or should we say 'incentive'?) seems to be the coherence of the text. Lack of manuscript support does not bother him, nor does he provide any 'transcriptional probability' for his conjecture.[149] If it is really intended as a conjectural emendation, the reasons Erasmus may have had can be surmised, namely, the generally uncertain state of the text of Acts[150] and the fact that he knew about different forms of this text in particular. It is however also possible that what we actually have here is *a comment on the text disguised as a conjecture*. In other words, Erasmus does not hesitate to step into the author's shoes and inform his readers about what he would have written himself.

Rom 8:3 (the annotation 'Nam quod impossibile erat legi')

The text here poses some problems, on which Erasmus comments:

As I reflect on this passage to the best of my ability, it seems to me some words are needed to complete the sense—if, for instance, we were to read: 'For what the Mosaic law could not do according to

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[149] As usual, the printed text of his editions was not changed.
[150] Cf. above, p. 61 n. 36.

its carnal part, in respect of which it was weak and ineffectual, God
has accomplished by sending his Son, who fulfilled the spiritual
part of the Law.' And the conjunction which follows helps to con-
firm my opinion: '*and* from sin condemned sin.' For unless you
supply ['subaudias'] the word 'accomplished' or 'effected' or some-
thing similar, the conjunction appears superfluous.[151]

Erasmus struggles with a difficult expression and a difficult sen-
tence. He notes that some words are missing, especially an indica-
tive before καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας. He only gives some possibilities in
Latin: 'praestitit' ('he accomplished'), 'effecit' ('he effected'), 'or
something similar'. These are probably not intended as conjec-
tures (something like κατειργάσατο or κατείργασται). Here we
see again how 'subaudire', 'to supply', can be an exegetical tool
for Erasmus.[152]

1 Cor 7:1 (the annotation 'Bonum est mulierem'): "... It is well
for a man not to touch a woman. [2] But because of the tempta-
tion to immorality (διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας) ..." (RSV).
  Erasmus notes a shortcoming in this verse:

    This is one place, I think, in which it would have been appropriate
    to add the conjunction μέν, which would correspond to δέ. But this
    is very frequent for Paul, and for this reason Jerome concludes that
    Paul was hardly well experienced in the Greek language.[153]

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[151] "Nam mihi quidem locum hunc pro mea virili perpendenti, videtur ali-
quid verborum deesse ad explendam sententiam, veluti si sic legamus: 'Nam
quod lex Mosaica non potuit iuxta partem carnalem, secundum quam erat imbe-
cillis et inefficax, hoc deus praestitit misso filio suo, qui spiritualem legis partem
absolvit.' Atque id ut magis probem, facit coniunctio quae sequitur, 'et de pecca-
to damnavit peccatum'. Nisi enim subaudias verbum 'praestitit' aut 'effecit', aut
aliud his simile, coniunctio videtur ociosa" (from 1519 onwards; translation
CWE 56, p. 200). Perhaps 'de peccato' should rather be rendered as 'on account
of sin' (cf. περὶ ἁμαρτίας).
[152] Cf. CWE 56, p. 200 n. 3: "Critics are still divided as to the intended
syntax here." Despite BDR § 160₂, a perfectly acceptable solution is to consider
verse 3a as an effective anacoluthon.
[153] "Hic est unus locus, opinor, in quo conveniebat addere coniunctionem
μέν, quae respondeat δέ. Verum id Paulo frequentissimum, quum hoc argu-
mento colligat Hieronymus Paulum parum bene calluisse Graecum sermonem"
(ASD VI–8, p. 120 ll. 357–359; from 1516 onwards; 'quum ...' added in 1519).
For the reference to Jerome, see van Poll–van de Lisdonk's notes in ASD VI–8,
p. 121 n.ll. 359 and especially p. 95 n.l. 919. For the recurring theme of Eras-
mus' appeal to Jerome in order to show Paul's deficiencies in Greek, see her
note in ASD VI–8, p. 447 n.ll. 37–44.

An interesting annotation! Indeed, the contrast between verse 1b and verse 2 would be clearer, had Paul adopted Erasmus' suggestion. Paul did not do so, and the very idea that he could have done so is anachronistic, of course. The short annotation shows clearly an important aspect of Erasmus' textual scholarship: intense interaction with the text, both Greek and Latin. He pays attention to the imperfections of the authors he studies, and does not hesitate to act as a co-writer. This independent attitude lies at the basis of his interpretations, his paraphrases, his translation and his conjectures.

Eph 3:10 (the annotation 'Per ecclesiam'): "... that through the church (διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας) the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known ..." (RSV).

A simple example of Erasmus's attitude towards the Greek text can be found in his annotation on the words διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας in Eph 3:10; he writes:

> Here, the preposition 'per' ['through'] denotes the instrument, as if you say 'by means of the Church'. However, as I openly acknowledge, the Greek expression would be quite ambiguous if the article τῆς had not been added. Then the meaning would have been thus: 'because of the congregations', or 'Churches'.[154]

Of course, this kind of comment is made by teachers of Greek every now and then, but for Erasmus it is more. He is constantly putting the text to the test by asking questions such as 'what would the meaning be if the text were ...?' As a consequence, conjectural emendation is often only one step away.

Col 1:15 (the annotation 'Primogenitus omnis creaturae'): "He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born (πρωτότοκος) of all creation" (RSV).

Erasmus, without knowing it, revives an old proposal made by Isidore of Pelusium:[155]

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[154] "Praepositio 'per' hoc loco significat instrumentum, quasi dicas 'opera ecclesiae'. Quanquam, ut ingenue fatear, sermo Graecus plane anceps esset, nisi additus fuisset articulus τῆς. Atque ita sensus fuisset 'propter congregationes' sive 'ecclesias' " (from 1516 onwards; 'Quanquam ... ecclesias' added in 1519).

[155] *Epist*. III, 31 (PG 78, cc. 749–754). Bowyer mentions Isidore: "F. Read in the sense St. Paul most probably meant πρωτοτόκος, *the first producer of every creature*. Isidore, iii. 31. Erasmus" (Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 394;

But the meaning here can be 'who was before all creation', so that no one would make God's son a creature, as Arius did. In this way Ambrose [Ambrosiaster] explains it.[156] If you change the accent and read πρωτοτόκος πάσης κτίσεως, the meaning would be that he first brought forth everything, and that all creation is born from him. This interpretation agrees rather well with the following words, that 'in him all things were created.' You may prefer either meaning ...[157]

Erasmus' idea—which of course is not a real conjecture, for it merely touches the accents—is either inspired by his own reading of Homer (*Il.* 17:5) or by the Suda (s.v. πρωτότοκος). There would indeed be such a difference between πρωτότοκος (passive sense) and πρωτοτόκος (active sense).[158] Therefore, Erasmus' suggestion is conceivable. It is not likely, however, for it would be the sole instance in the NT with this accent and this meaning, and in the same context the word occurs again (verse 18), this time undoubtedly as πρωτότοκος. Very interesting is Erasmus' way of

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1812, p. 535; followed by van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 314). The proposal is mentioned in older Nestle editions (N[13]–NA[25]). To my knowing, Isidore was first indicated by Beza, in an addition in his fifth edition (1598). From his first edition (1556) onwards, Beza dismisses Erasmus' 'conjecture', especially since it goes against his own interpretation, which distinguishes between the way Christ was 'begotten' ('genitum') and the world was 'made' ('conditum'). Erasmus' reading πρωτοτόκος would take away this argument against both the Arians and Michael Servetus.

[156] Ambrosiaster, *Comm. epist. Paul.* a.h.l. (CSEL 81/3, p. 171 l. 26–p. 172 l. 1).

[157] "Sensus autem hic esse potest 'qui genitus fuit ante omnem creaturam'. Ne quis cum Ario Dei filium faciat creaturam. In hanc sententiam edisserit Ambrosius. Quod si mutato accentu legas πρωτοτόκος πάσης κτίσεως sensus erit illum primum produxisse omnia et omnem creaturam ab illo natam esse. Nec male congruit ad hanc sententiam quod sequitur quod *in illo creata sint omnia* etc. Utruncumque sensum sequi malis ..." (from 1516 onwards; 'In hanc sententiam ... Ambrosius' added in 1522). In LB VI, c. 885 C, the accent on πρωτοτόκος is missing. Erasmus' Greek text retains the traditional accent, and his translation is 'primogenitus'. The same text also plays a role in the controversy with Lee (*Resp. ad annot. Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, pp. 248–249 ll. 260–290), though the reading πρωτοτόκος is not discussed there, but only mentioned (l. 262).

[158] Cf. LSJ s.v. A similar shift of meaning can be seen in many adjectives, with the proparoxytone having a passive sense and the paroxytone an active sense, e.g. εὐθυβολος; κεραυνοβολος; λιθοβολος; πρωτοβολος; πρωτογονος; πατροκτονος; ταυροκτονος; ἀγρονομος; αἰγινομος; τηλεσκοπος; αἰνοτοκος; ἀρτιτοκος; θεοτοκος; ἀρτιτομος; διχοτομος; ἀστραπηφορος (Euripides, *Bacch.* 3: ἀστραπηφόρῳ πυρί). Cf. Beza's suggestion to convey an active sense to the difficult word θεοστυγεῖς in Rom 1:30 by accenting it θεοστύγεις (see below, p. 250).

reasoning: Ambrose (Ambrosiaster) forestalls an Arian interpretation of the text through a rather weak interpretation of the traditional πρωτότοκος, but Erasmus finds a better way to do the same.

5.4 WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED CONJECTURES

Several conjectures have been incorrectly attributed to Erasmus. In some of these cases, it is important to detect what really happened, not only in order to have a clear distinction between what belongs to Erasmus and what does not belong to him, but also as an illustration of the difficulties that surround the study and use of Erasmus' editions.[159] As we will see, some cases also illustrate Erasmus' text-critical and philological thinking.

Matt 5:47 (the annotation 'Fratres vestros'): "... if you salute only your brethren (τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν) ..." (RSV).
    Here Erasmus' editions adopt the reading ἀδελφούς, though he writes in the *Annotationes*: "Most Greek manuscripts have τοὺς φίλους ὑμῶν, that is: 'your friends'."[160] This instance is mentioned by van Manen as an Erasmian conjecture, even as a confirmed one, and rejected as such by J.H.A. Michelsen.[161] It is indeed not

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[159] These difficulties also concern information on readings given by Erasmus. For instance at 2 Cor 11:8, Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.) indicates a variant reading for πρός: εἰς 'Codices teste Erasmo' ('manuscripts according to Erasmus'). However when in his 1516 *Annotationes*, Erasmus cites the reading as εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν διακονίαν, the word εἰς may have been a simple error in his notes, not unlike many scribal errors. In the second edition (1519), the lemma is corrected to "εἰς sive ut est in quibusdam πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν διακονίαν" ("εἰς or πρός as in some [manuscripts] ..."—ASD VI-8, p. 448 ll. 67-68). The characteristic way in which this correction was made finally led to Wettstein's conclusion, but there probably are no 'codices teste Erasmo' in this case. Another example is found at Col 1:27 (ἐν ὑμῖν); Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.) gives εἰς ὑμᾶς as found in 'manuscripts according to Erasmus ('Codices, teste Erasmo'). However the note 'In vobis' in Erasmus' *Annotationes* refers to εἰς ὑμᾶς in Col 1:25, but was misplaced in the first four editions, and even further misplaced in the fifth; according to Brown (ASD VI-3 a.h.l.) the latter was done "apparently in the mistaken belief that εἰς ὑμᾶς was a variant reading for ἐν ὑμῖν in that verse." In any case, Wettstein was obvious misled by its present location.

[160] "Plerique Graeci codices habent τοὺς φίλους ὑμῶν, id est 'amicos vestros' " (from 1516 onwards—ASD VI–5, p. 149–150 ll. 932–933).

[161] Van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 137; Michelsen, 'Coniecturaal-kritiek', p. 144.

a conjecture, but not for the reason Michelsen gives. According to him, Greek readings inferred from versions such as the Vulgate do not count as conjectures, and Erasmus' τοὺς ἀδελφούς is simply an instance of these. Van Manen's idea that Erasmus' ἀδελφούς is only a retroverted Vulgate reading is derived from Bowyer, who writes:

> The Vulgate, *fratres vestros*: whence Erasmus, Stephens, Beza, read ἀδελφούς, against the testimony, as they own, of all the Greek Mss.[162]

However, as Erasmus' own words already suggest ('most manuscripts'), it is not the reading ἀδελφούς itself that is based on the Vulgate, but only the choice for it. He can indeed have found it in min. 1 (not in min. 69). It is still conceivable that this adoption of a reading reflected by the Vulgate was not made by Erasmus but by one of his proofreaders. In that case, the influence of min. 1 would be almost certain.

Matt 26:74 (the annotation 'Detestari'): "Then he began to invoke a curse on himself (καταθεματίζειν) and to swear ..." (RSV).

Erasmus' Greek text has καταναθεματίζειν, a word which may seem to be a conjecture, for it is not found in any Greek manuscript;[163] moreover, in his annotation he seems to suggest that the normal Greek reading is ἀναθεματίζειν, which is also unattested here. No conjectural emendation is involved, however, but rather a comedy of errors, which nevertheless betrays an interesting aspect of Erasmus' way of thinking. The reading καταναθεματίζειν is probably an Erasmian invention. The same is true for the word κατανάθεμα in Rev 22:3, which Delitzsch calls 'eine erasmische Erfindung'.[164]

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[162] Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 12; 1812, p. 67 (cf. Johann C.F. Schulz's addition in the 1812 edition). It may seem that van Manen did not read Bowyer's Preface, in which he writes more correctly: "... ΦΙΛΟΥΣ is the reading of the Complutensian edition, and of *most* of the Greek Mss. as Erasmus testifies, and in *all*, as Stephens; ..." (*Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. vii; 1812, p. 3).

[163] This is one of the many instances in which Tischendorf, unaware of the TR history, hides (or expresses) his embarrassment by the formula 'cum minusc[ulis] vix mu[ltis]' ('with hardly many minuscules') as 'support' for καταναθεματίζειν (Ti[8]).

[164] Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Funde* 1, pp. 51–52. As we will see, Delitzsch's contention that Erasmus "sich κατάθεμα und καταθεματίζειν in der Bedeutung *maledictum* und *maledicere* nicht zurechtlegen konnte" is unfounded.

The following reconstruction describes the probable origin of both readings, which were to become part of the *Textus Receptus*.[165] First, in the course of his first collation of the Vulgate with the Greek text, Erasmus notices the reading καταθεματίζειν in Matt 26:74. Pondering it, he concludes that this verb is stronger than the normal ἀναθεματίζειν (cf. Mark 14:71 and Acts 23:12. 14.21). He knows the intensifying force of κατα-, and writes the word καταναθεματίζειν in the margin of his Vulgate edition, or in his separate notes, together with the improvement 'devovere' ('to execrate') instead of 'detestari' ('to curse'). Probably καταναθεματίζειν is a subconscious contamination, and not a conscious correction. Be that as it may, the new word is born.

Second, when redacting this note for inclusion in the *Annotationes*, he combines three elements: the Vulgate reading 'detestari' ('to curse'), the Greek manuscript reading καταθεματίζειν which he finds (again) in Basle, and his embryonic note with the comparison between καταναθεματίζειν and ἀναθεματίζειν. The resulting 1516 annotation then reads:

> καταθεματίζειν, that is, 'to execrate', or, as it is read in some manuscripts, καταναθεματίζειν, which is stronger than ἀναθεματίζειν.[166]

Furthermore, the reading found in the notes, καταναθεματίζειν, is carried over to the Greek text; it also influences the printed text of Rev 22:3, where κατανάθεμα is found instead of κατάθεμα (also in 1516 already).

Third, the annotation would be correct if the remark on καταναθεματίζειν were simply left out. But when preparing the *Annotationes* for the second edition, Erasmus could not observe this, as he normally assumes somewhat naively that the readings found in his first edition—so here καταναθεματίζειν—are all based on manuscripts. He therefore corrects only the first word of the annotation, καταθεματίζειν, parting only from the con-

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[165] Strictly speaking, the *Textus Receptus* is not a single text, but comparable to a text-type. Stephanus', Beza's and the Elzevirs' texts belong to its core, while Erasmus' texts can be seen as part of the *Textus Receptus*, but with many idiosyncrasies. Cf. Metzger, *Text*, pp. 103.106.

[166] "καταθεματίζειν, id est, 'devovere' sive, ut in quibusdam legitur, καταναθεματίζειν, quod gravius est quam ἀναθεματίζειν" (ASD VI–5, p. 331 ll. 547–548 and app.l. 547).

trast between ἀναθεματίζειν and καταναθεματίζειν. The only choice for this correction is ἀναθεματίζειν, as καταναθεματίζειν is already indicated as an alternative manuscript reading. He does not seem to notice that this ἀναθεματίζειν does not correspond to 'devovere' ('to execrate') which he first introduced as the stronger rendering of καταναθεματίζειν.[167] As a result, besides suggesting the existence of καταναθεματίζειν as a manuscript reading, the annotation now even implies that the possible, but equally unattested ἀναθεματίζειν is the normal reading.

In conclusion, the TR reading καταναθεματίζειν is due to an error made by Erasmus, not to conjectural emendation. The reading and the accompanying annotation are a good illustration of the difficulties that surround the study of Erasmus' involvement with the Greek New Testament.

Luke 2:14 (the annotation 'Hominibus bonae voluntatis'): "... good will toward men (ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία)" (KJV).[168]

Bowyer indicates an Erasmian conjecture on this verse: "Leave out ἐν before ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία, with the Vulgate. *Erasmus*, Ep. 802. and Edit. 1, 2, 3, ..."[169] Indeed, ἐν is not found in Erasmus' first three editions, but it is introduced in the fourth (1527). This shows that its omission does not represent Erasmus' opinion on the text. The questions of his correspondent Francesco Cigalini must have prompted him to reconsider the textual choice. In his answer he actually claims Greek manuscript support for the omission of ἐν,[170] but it is not certain whether this statement can be trusted.[171] Moreover, it may not have been Erasmus' choice at

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[167] Perhaps Erasmus felt it somehow, for in 1522 he changed his Latin translation from 'detestari' to 'execrari', and added "aut 'execrari' " to " 'devovere' " in the annotation as an even stronger translation.

[168] Essentially two readings are opposed here, namely εὐδοκίας (MCT) and εὐδοκία (𝔐).

[169] Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 83 (1812, p. 191). Ep. 802 in LB III–1 has become EE 1680 in Allen's edition. The Vulgate reflects the reading ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας (cf. NA²⁷), not the reading ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία printed in Erasmus' first three editions.

[170] See EE 1680 ll. 22–23 (Ep. 1680 ll. 26–27) and the 1527 addition to the annotation (ASD VI–5, p. 478 ll. 879–880). Cf. Hovingh's note in ASD VI–5, p. 477 n.ll. 829–950.

[171] Ti⁸, following Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.), indicates "cod[ex/ices] apud Erasm[um]" ("a manuscript/manuscripts according to Erasmus"), but no Greek manuscripts. GNT³ follows Ti⁸ in mentioning "ms^acc. to Erasmus". In IGNT Luke, 1,

the beginning, but a pro-Vulgate correction introduced by his proofreaders. A decade later, Erasmus does not recall what happened and again assumes as a rule of thumb that the Greek reading adopted in his *Novum Instrumentum* was based on Greek manuscripts.

Luke 11:36: "If then your whole body (σῶμα) is full of light" (RSV).

Bowyer includes Erasmus' paraphrase in support of the first of two conjectures by Joannes Maldonatus, ὀμμά instead of σῶμα,[172] but this observation is based on a superficial reading of the paraphrase of this verse.[173] It actually contains the words 'si oculus ... corporis tui fuerit sincerus' ('if the eye of your body were pure'), which may seem to imply that Erasmus felt the difficulty of τὸ σῶμά σου ὅλον in this context; but this alone does not warrant an implicit conjecture ὀμμά (instead of σῶμα); it would be τὸ ὀμμὰ τοῦ σώματός σου, and even the word ὀμμά would be very surprising in a context which has ὀφθαλμός throughout. Furthermore, the words 'sed totum corpus erit lucidum' ('but the whole body will be bright'), later on in the paraphrase of this verse, are a clear echo of the normal Greek text. It is very haphazard to use paraphrases in order to deduce conjectures their author may have made, or even to find just some support of them.[174]

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p. 40 app. and GNT[3] the only Greek manuscript mentioned is min. 372, and *Text und Textwert* IV.3,2, p. 2 indicates three Greek minuscules (372; 724; 2737). However these minuscules are later than Erasmus' first edition, in which the omission first occurs. This *post hoc* may safely be considered to be *propter hoc* as well. In GNT[4] the reference to a Greek source for the reading 'hominibus bonae voluntatis' has been dropped.

[172] Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1812, p. 212 (not in the 1782 edition). The information is derived from Schulz's additions to the German translation. As van Manen refers to Bowyer for these conjectures (*Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 199), it can be deduced that he consulted the 1812 edition (a copy of which is in the library of the Leyden University).

[173] LB VII, c. 385 A–B.

[174] In the *Annotationes*, no such support for the first conjecture can be found, while Erasmus only indirectly anticipates Maldonatus' second conjecture, φωτίσει instead of φωτίζῃ, by observing a problem in the text: "Besides, the text may seem to be somewhat strange: 'If the whole [body] were lighted, the whole will be lighted.'" ("Alioqui sermo videri possit subabsurdus, si totum lucidum fuerit, totum lucidum erit."—in the annotation 'Et sicut lucerna', ASD VI–5, p. 542 ll. 569–571; from 1519 onwards). Interestingly, Erasmus reads φωτίζει in both text and *Annotationes*, a reading found in some manuscripts, which lies between the normal reading φωτιζῇ and Maldonatus' conjecture

Luke 12:49 (the annotation 'Et quid volo nisi ut ardeat?')

The Greek text of Luke 12:49 contains a well-known *crux*, καὶ τί θέλω εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη, where normal grammar does not help very much.[175] Erasmus fails to notice this, and therefore assumes that the Vulgate is based on a different Greek text:

> καὶ τί θέλω, εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη, that is: 'And what do I want, if it is already kindled' ... It seems that the translator read καὶ τί θέλω εἰ μὴ ἀνῆφθαι, that is: 'What do I want except that it be kindled.' Or surely, what is actually closer [to the Greek]: τί θέλω, ἢ ἤδη ἀνῆφθαι, that is: 'What would I want, except that it be kindled soon,' since in Greek ἤ is joined even to the positive degree, with ἄλλο understood, as the Latin also adds 'quam' ['than'] to the positive degree, with 'post' ['after'] or a similar word understood, for instance 'the third day since ['quam'] you have left me.' Theophylact not only reads, but also comments in agreement with our edition.[176] For 'what do I want' is put for what was 'nothing else do I want ...' And 'if it is already kindled' suggests rapidity, while in 'if' lies the silent indication of a promise.[177]

This annotation has been misunderstood as if Erasmus makes two conjectures here,[178] but this is based on the common confusion between retroverted Vulgate readings and readings intended as

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φωτίσει. Maldonatus (*Commentarii* a.h.l.) extensively discusses this second conjecture, but without any reference to Erasmus.

[175] The problem can be localised in the idiomatic use of εἰ; cf. Maximiliano Zerwick, *Graecitas biblica* § 405 (pp. 137–138).

[176] Theophylact: τὸ γὰρ, τί θέλω, ἀντὶ τοῦ, πόσον θέλω, εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη; (PG 123, c. 905A).

[177] "Καὶ τί θέλω, εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη; Id est: 'Et quid volo, si iam accensus est?' ... Apparet interpretem legisse καὶ τί θέλω εἰ μὴ ἀνῆφθαι, id est: 'et quid volo nisi accendi'. Aut certe, quod vero propius est, τί θέλω, ἢ ἤδη ἀνῆφθαι, id est: 'quid velim, nisi mox accensum esse'. Quandoquidem Graecis ἤ adiungitur etiam positivis subaudito ἄλλο, quemadmodum Latini 'quam' addunt positivis, subaudito 'post' aut simili voce. Ut 'tertio die quam a me discessisti'. Theophylactus non legit tantum, verum etiam interpretatur iuxta nostram aeditionem. Nam *quid volo* positum est pro eo quod erat 'nihil aliud volo'. Et *si iam accensus est* celeritatis habet emphasim; et in *si* subest tacita significatio voti" (ASD VI–5, p. 552 ll. 859–860.863–871; from 1516 onwards; 'subaudito ἄλλο ... discessisti' added in 1535; 'Theophylactus ... voti' added in 1519 (with 'Vulgarius' instead of 'Theophylactus' in 1519)).

[178] Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 111 (1812, p. 226) (taken over by van Manen, *Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 200). The conjecture is even incorrectly cited as "εἰ ἤδη (or ἢ ἤδη) ἀνῆφθαι". Beza's editions are not at the origin of this error, as Beza cites Erasmus' readings correctly; he even gives a real conjecture: εἰ ἤδη ἀναφθῇ (in which εἰ is taken as equivalent to ὅπως; from the first edition (1556) onwards); this conjecture, with which Beza is not satisfied, is perhaps inspired by Jer 21:12 LXX.

(conjectural) emendations. Besides, Erasmus does not touch the Greek text in his edition, and translates it according to his understanding of it.[179]

John 19:7 (no annotation): "because he made himself the Son of God" (KJV).

Erasmus' printed Greek text is ὅτι ἑαυτὸν τὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ ἐποίησεν. One of the particularities of this reading is the presence of the article before υἱόν. If anything, it is probably just a small, even inadvertent correction, while no manuscripts are known that contain it.[180] Bowyer, observing that the article is added in the editions by Erasmus and Colinaeus, adds 'F.' (for 'fortasse'), thereby implying that a conjectural emendation is at stake.[181] Another particularity of the Erasmian reading is the word order: from both word orders known from Erasmus' Greek manuscripts, ἑαυτὸν θεοῦ υἱόν and υἱόν θεοῦ ἑαυτόν, the mixed order ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ is actually adopted,[182] probably again through inadvertence.

In conclusion, two main reasons for wrong attributions can be detected.[183] Firstly, several (small) errors in Erasmus' Greek text have been regarded as conjectures. As I have argued in the case of the instances indicated by Brown in his notes on Erasmus' text of

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[179] That is, "quid volo, si iam accensus est?" (LB VI).

[180] Wettstein, *NTG*; Ti[8]; von Soden.

[181] Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 183; 1812, p. 319. Bowyer's information probably goes back to Mill. Van Manen (*Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 225) also cites this alleged Erasmian conjecture, but as usual his information depends on secondary sources. In this case, the misunderstanding goes back to Bowyer's note.

[182] See Brown's note on this problem in ASD VI–2, p. 189 note to verse 7 'filium dei'. As Brown indicates, Erasmus' order ἑαυτὸν ... υἱὸν θεοῦ is actually found in many manuscripts.

[183] A minor reason would be a confusion of names. At Acts 2:9, Metzger indicates that the conjecture Ἰνδίαν (for Ἰουδαίαν) is supported by 'Erasmus, Schmid' (TC[1], p. 293 and TC[2], p. 254), but no trace of this support can be found in Erasmus' works. An original reference to Erasmus Schmidt (1560–1637) has been mistaken to denote two persons, Desiderius Erasmus and Erasmus Schmidt. The error probably originated in van Manen's *Conjecturaal-kritiek*: "... Schmidt, with Lorinus, Erasmus, wants to read ..." ("... wil Schmidt, met Lorinus, Erasmus, ... lezen ..."; p. 231). Erasmus Schmidt mentions the conjecture in his *Versio Novi Testamenti* (published 1658), but he does not indicate its author (cf. Wettstein, *NTG*, a.h.l.).

John–Acts,[184] such inadvertences do not fall within the definition of conjectural emendation proper. Secondly, sometimes retroverted Vulgate readings have been presented as Erasmian conjectures. The problem with these instances is twofold. If the retroversion is straightforward, the reflected text is not a pure conjecture. More importantly, it has to be argued in each case whether Erasmus really regards the retroversion as the correct text and knows that it differs from the readings found in the Greek manuscripts to which he has access. Even then, Erasmus may prefer the idea expressed in the Vulgate reading, providing at the same time the retroversion which he holds to be the most likely. If such retroverted readings are simply recorded as conjectures, their status and value risk being misunderstood.[185]

5.5 CONJECTURES ON THE TEXT OF THE VULGATE

Erasmus' attitude towards conjectural emendation can also be detected in his treatment of the Vulgate text. Indeed, much work was done by Erasmus in detecting corrupted readings within the Vulgate transmission. We find many references to 'older and better' Vulgate manuscripts, but sometimes he first restores the Vulgate reading by (Latin) conjecture mostly based on the Greek text. In general, Erasmus often first suspects 'depravatio', and later finds manuscripts that confirm his suspicions. Sometimes he even discovers that his own conjectures are confirmed by older and better manuscripts.

A good example of a Latin conjecture can be found in Erasmus' note on Luke 1:9:

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[184] ASD VI–2; see above, p. 62.

[185] E.g. in Acts 2:1 ὁμαδόν as indicated by Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 199; 1812, p. 338. In Acts 3:12, Erasmus' retroversion ἐξουσίᾳ is given by Bowyer as εὐσθενείᾳ (1782, p. 205; 1812, p. 344). The reason for this is that Bowyer depends on Beza's later editions. In Beza's second edition (1565), ἐξουσίᾳ is still mentioned as the reading preferred by both Erasmus and himself, but under influence from the Syriac and Arabic evidence and probably in an effort to provide more 'transcriptional proximity' it is changed to εὐσθενείᾳ in the third (1582), creating the wrong impression that this is Erasmus' retroversion as well. Bowyer is followed by van Manen (*Conjecturaal-kritiek*, p. 232).

In Greek it is ἔλαχεν, that is: 'he obtained by lot' ['sortitus est'], what the translator, if I am not mistaken, wanted to render more clearly by means of periphrase: 'sors exiit' ['the lot came out'], for when the lots are put in a vase, the lot of this one or this one would be said to have come out ['exisse']. Someone corrupted this into 'sorte exiit' ['through lot he went out']; therefore, we translate 'through lot it was allotted to him' ['sorte illi obvenit']. Besides, Zechariah went in, not out.[186]

This conjecture on the Vulgate text (which invariably reads 'sorte exiit') is probably correct; it would deserve adoption in Weber's critical apparatus. It depends of course on the knowledge of the Greek, but also on the apparent contradiction between 'he went out' ('exiit') and 'having entered' ('ingressus').

John 21:22 (the annotation 'Sic eum volo manere'): "If (ἐάν) it is my will that he remain until I come" (RSV).

A standard example for internal Vulgate corruption can be found in John 21:22, for there are manuscripts that read '*sic* eum volo manere donec veniam' ('it is my will that he remain *thus* until I come'). Erasmus comments:

As all Greek copies invariably had written ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν, no one can doubt that the conjunction 'si' ['if'] has been changed into the adverb 'sic' ['thus'], and not through the translator's fault, but through the error of a copyist. Since in Latin the slip from 'si' to 'sic' is easy and down-hill, because of the resemblance of these words, while in Greek there is nothing similar between ἐάν and οὕτως, so that the translator may be seen to have gone wrong on that occasion.[187]

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[186] "Graecis est ἔλαχεν, id est: 'sortitus est', quod interpres, ni fallor, volens dilucidius reddere periphrasi verterat *sors exiit*, quod sortibus missis in urnam sors illius aut illius exisse diceretur. Id aliquis depravavit in 'sorte exiit'; proinde nos vertimus *sorte illi obvenit*. Alioqui Zacharias 'ingressus est', non *exiit*" (in the annotation 'Sorte exiit'; from 1516 onwards; in 1516 the last sentence, 'Alioqui ... exiit' is found between 'diceretur.' and 'Id'—ASD VI–5, p. 454 ll. 263–266; in ASD VI–5, inverted commas around 'in sorte exiit' give the false impression that this is the reading Erasmus refers to, and not 'sorte exiit'). The error in the Vulgate was incorporated in the list of 'clearly corrupted passages' ('loca manifeste depravata'; NT 1519, p. 92 (p. Hh 4ᵛ); NT 1522, p. D 3ᵛ; *Annot.* 1527, p. Oo 5ʳ; LB VI, p. *7ʳ; Reeve 3, p. 21). For the 'lists of deficiencies', see above, p. 13 n. 16.

[187] "Quum omnia Graecorum exemplaria constanter habeant scriptum Ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν, nemini dubium esse potest, quin coniunctio 'si' mutata sit in adverbium *sic*, idque non interpretis vitio, sed errore librarii. Siquidem apud

The 'corruption' goes even further, for Vulgate manuscripts not only alternate between 'si' and 'sic', but even often present the conflated reading 'si sic':

> Next, because of the variant readings, when in some 'sic', in others 'si' was found, someone wrote the other [reading] in the margin, and finally both are brought back into the text. We often stumble upon this kind of corruption in Jerome and Cyprian. If sometimes a text was cited by them differently from how it is commonly read, a half-learned scribe was offended by it and changed the citation from his memory in accordance with the Vulgate edition.[188]

Erasmus states a general principle here ('a kind of corruption'—'depravandi genus'), and also correctly remarks that the reading 'si sic' is clearly secondary.[189]

Having spotted such a clear instance of obviously faulty Vulgate manuscripts, Erasmus seizes the occasion to mount a general reaction to the criticism his work has encountered:

> To be sure, I am not instigating an erasure or promoting another version to be read in the Churches; I merely indicate the genuine reading on the basis of evidence gathered from manuscripts in both languages and from the interpretations of the most approved doctors of the church. Whoever does not believe the demonstrated truth, then, could perhaps be called obstinate; whoever protests, shameless; whoever disregards the man adducing the proofs, thankless; and whoever does not follow such manifest things, dull. Furthermore, the one who points out what is correct for an established error, does not throw in new things, but restores old ones,—when

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Latinos facilis et proclivis prolapsus est a 'si' in 'sic' ob vocum affinitatem. Caeterum apud Graecos nihil simile est inter ἐάν et οὕτως, ut hac occasione lapsus videri possit interpres" (ASD VI–6, pp. 168.170 ll. 140–145; from 1516 onwards; 'inter' added in 1527). The idea of the confusion between 'si' and 'sic' can already be found in Valla's *Annotationes* (Garin, 1, c. 846b; cf. Hovingh's note in ASD VI–6, p. 169 n.ll. 140–272). This example is also indicated by Bentley, *Humanists*, p. 140. The case is included in the list of 'clearly corrupted passages' ('loca manifeste depravata'; NT 1519, p. 91 (p. Hh 4ʳ); NT 1522, p. D 3ʳ; *Annot*. 1527, p. Oo 4ᵛ; LB VI, p. *7ʳ; Reeve 3, p. 19). For the 'lists of deficiencies', see above, p. 13 n. 16.

[188] "Deinde variante scriptura, quum in aliis *sic*, in aliis *si* reperiretur, aliquis asscripsit alterum in margine, tandem utrunque relatum est in contextum. Hoc depravandi genus frequenter offendimus in Hieronymo et Cypriano. Si quando citabatur ab illis aliter scriptura quam vulgo legitur, offensus scriba doctulus mutavit quod citabatur, ex sua memoria iuxta vulgatam aeditionem" (ASD VI–6, p. 174 ll. 250–254; from 1527 onwards).

[189] The conflated reading 'si sic' is found in the Fuldensis and somewhat surprisingly adopted in vgˢᵗ (verse 22).

someone cries out cantankerously that he is a forger, and arouses the world against him in furious writings, what name, I ask, would he deserve? But let me be silent, the matter speaks for itself.[190]

This is a impressive statement of his task as Erasmus sees it, and of his 'critical' talent.

Rom 3:4 (the annotation 'Est autem'): "let God be true (γινέσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής), but every man a liar" (KJV).

Erasmus' annotation on this text contains a conjecture on the Vulgate reading 'est' ('[he] is'):

> The Greek is γινέσθω, that is, 'but let God be (or, become) true.' Perhaps the Translator had written *esto*, as the translator of Theophylact ... renders.[191] But γινέσθω is used to mean φανερούσθω, ἀποδεικνύσθω, that is, 'let him be revealed,' 'let him be shown.' For it cannot be that God *is* not true, but what matters to us is that people *understand* him as such. And yet [this] can be used in an expression of praise, as when we say 'Glory to you, O Lord.'[192]

In 1516 already, Erasmus makes a conjecture on the Vulgate text in order to explain the striking difference between the Greek imperative ('that God be true') and the Latin indicative ('God is true').[193] It seems that Erasmus, in 1519, is playing with another

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[190] "Nunc ego nec radendi nec in templis aliter pronunciandi sum autor, tantum indico germanam lectionem ex fide utriusque linguae codicum et ex interpretatione probatissimorum ecclesiae doctorum. Ita qui veritati commonstratae non credat, fortasse pertinax dici possit, qui reclamet, impudens, qui monstratorem negligat, ingratus, qui non assequatur tam evidentia, tardus. Caeterum qui pro errore inveterato docet quod rectum est, nec ingerit nova, sed vetera restituit, hunc si quis falsarium seditiose clamitet et mundum in illum scriptis furiosis concitet, quaeso, quo nomine donandus videtur? Ut ego taceam, res ipsa loquitur" (ASD VI–6, p. 174 ll. 260–268; from 1527 onwards; translation partly after István Bejczy, *Erasmus*, p. 136).

[191] Not in PG 124, c. 379 C.

[192] "γινέσθω Graecis est 'sit' sive 'fiat autem deus verax'. Fortassis interpres verterat 'esto'; quemadmodum vertit interpres Theophylacti ... Positum est autem γινέσθω pro φανεροίσθω (sic), ἀποδεικνύσθω, id est 'declaretur', 'ostendatur'. Neque enim fieri potest, ut deus verax non sit, sed nostra refert, ut talem esse intelligant homines. Quanquam potest esse δοξολογοῦντος, quemadmodum dicimus 'gloria tibi domine' " (from 1516 onwards; 'quemadmodum ... hactenus' added in 1519 (with 'Vulgarii', corrected into 'Theophylacti' in 1522); 'γινέσθω pro φανεροίσθω, ἀποδεικνύσθω, id est declaretur, ostendatur' only in 1535, replacing 'pro "appareat" '; 'Neque ... homines' added in 1519; 'Quanquam ... domine' added in 1535; translation CWE 56, pp. 92–93).

[193] This instance is one of the entries of the list of 'clearly corrupted passages' ('loca manifeste depravata'), though only in NT 1519 (p. 91 (Hh 4ʳ)) and NT 1522 (p. D 3ʳ; cf. LB VI, p. *7ʳ and Reeve, 3, p. 19). It was omitted in the

explanation: the idea that 'God has to become true' (γινέσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής) may seem impossible, as if God at some moment can be thought of as being not 'true'. But Erasmus does not use this difficulty in order to explain the (change of the original) Vulgate reading ('est autem Deus verax'); he only explains what the Greek means.

Rom 9:10 (the annotation 'Ex uno concubitu')

Here, the comparison with the Greek shows that the Vulgate text as Erasmus knows it is clearly wrong. The latter, "Rebecca ex uno concubitu habens Isaac patre nostro" ("Rebecca having [being pregnant] from a single conjugal act with our father Isaac") does not reflect the Greek Ῥεβέκκα ἐξ ἑνὸς κοίτην ἔχουσα, Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ("Rebekka conceiving from one, our father Isaac"). Valla already points out the problem,[194] and Erasmus joins him by suggesting that the 'original' Vulgate read 'concubitum' instead of 'concubitu',[195] a correction so obvious that it hardly deserves to be called a 'conjecture'. Erasmus even incorporated this instance in his list of examples of obviously corrupt Vulgate readings.[196]

Gal 1:6 (the annotation 'Quod sic tam cito')

In this verse, there is a striking difference between the Vulgate reading 'sic tam cito transferimini' ('you are thus so soon transferred') and the Greek οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ('you are so soon transferred' or 'you transfer yourselves so soon'). Erasmus

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1527 edition (*Annot.*, p. Oo 4ᵛ; between the entries on Acts 28:11 and Rom 8:7); as a consequence, it is no longer immediately clear in that edition that the following entries concern Romans. The omission may actually have been due to an oversight, for the annotation on Rom 3:4 itself was not changed in 1527. For the 'lists of deficiencies', see above, p. 13 n. 16.

[194] Garin, 1, c. 858a.

[195] Erasmus' remarks are already found in the first edition. The same correction of 'concubitu' is found in vgʷʷ and vgˢᵗ: 'ex uno concubitum'; the reading appears to be based on a single Vulgate manuscript (the Fuldensis), which is followed because of the underlying Greek (vgʷʷ also indicates that the correction was urged by Richard Bentley). The corruption can happen all the more easily because of the suspension marks used in manuscripts (e.g. 'cocubitu̅').

[196] NT 1519, p. 91 (Hh 4ʳ); NT 1522, p. D 3ʳ; *Annot.* 1517, p. Oo 4ᵛ; LB VI, p. *7ʳ; Reeve, 3, p. 19 (for the 'lists of deficiencies', see above, p. 13 n. 16). Erasmus' overt criticism of the Vulgate provoked an interesting reaction from Titelmans (see below, p. 175).

surmises that 'sic tam' is a conflated reading, the origin of which seems to be a marginal gloss adopted into the text;[197] either 'sic' or 'tam' must have been the original rendering. As he does not find manuscripts without the conflation, his conclusion remains a conjecture.[198]

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[197] Cf. above, p. 39.

[198] vg^ww and vg^st have 'sic tam'; Erasmus' conjecture could have been followed, though conceivably 'sic tam' represents an effort to expresses both aspects of οὕτως in translation.

ERASMUS AND CONJECTURES MADE BY OTHER CRITICS

*This, whatever it is, I wanted to be communicated to those who are
eager to learn, without any prejudice*—Erasmus[1]

Erasmus' views on conjectural emendation can also be detected in
those instances in which he discusses conjectures proposed by
others. First old conjectures made by Church Fathers will be dis-
cussed, then one found in Valla's work, and finally those made
by contemporaries of Erasmus. In addition, some aspects of the
reception history of Erasmus' conjectures will be explored.

6.1 ORIGEN, JEROME, AND CYRIL

Erasmus discusses at some length Origen's conjecture on Matt
19:19, according to which the words καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον
σου ὡς σεαυτόν are spurious.[2] The idea is that if the rich man had
fulfilled this commandment, he would have been perfect (cf. Rom
13:9). Erasmus prefers himself to explain the text in line with the
other solution offered by Origen, according to which Jesus' fol-
lowing remarks subtly show that the man mistakenly believes he
has fulfilled the entire law.[3] It is important to notice that Erasmus
does not refute Origen's conjecture for its being a conjecture;
instead he even refers to Origen's famous complaints about the
negligence of scribes and the mistaken zeal of correctors.[4]

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[1] "Hoc quicquid est, volui communicatum esse studiosis, citra cuiusquam
praeiudicium" (in the annotation 'Cohors autem et tribunus'—ASD VI–6, p. 156
ll. 872–873; 1535 and 1527 appendix).

[2] In the annotation 'Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum' (ASD VI–5, pp.
270–271 ll. 952–980; from 1519 onwards). For Origen, see *Comm. Matt.* 15.14
(GSC 10, pp. 385–390, esp. p. 387 ll. 8–16).

[3] Cf. Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 15.14 (GSC 10, p. 390 ll. 25–29).

[4] Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 15.14 (GSC 10, p. 387 ll. 28–30 and p. 388 ll. 1–7).
The passage is even cited in full by Erasmus, in *Capita* (LB VI, p. ***1ʳ; already
in 1519, pp. 73-74 no. 45).

In his note on Matt 13:35, Erasmus records a well-known con-
jecture by Jerome ('per Asaph prophetam'), paraphrasing his
words.[5] It is not clear whether Erasmus agrees with this conjec-
ture. In any case, he does not provide his own arguments for or
against it, but simply informs his readers of Jerome's opinion.

A similar conjecture is known on Matt 27:9. In 1516, Erasmus
only mentions Jerome's opinion, according to which the citation
presented under Jeremiah's name is not from the biblical book of
Jeremiah nor from an apocryphal writing by Jeremiah, but from
Zechariah, but taken up by the evangelist in such a way that it
hardly corresponds to either the Hebrew text or the Septuagint.[6]
In 1519, the annotation is considerably enlarged, mainly in order
to circumvent criticism. Erasmus adds Jerome's exact words, as a
way of stressing against his critics that he was only transmitting
some information. He now transmits four ways to solve the pro-
blem, the first two derived from Origen and the second two from
Chrysostom: (1) to assume an error in the transmission of Mat-
thew's text; Erasmus adds that the change of names could occur
more easily "because there is some similarity between the
words";[7] (2) to assume that Matthew is citing from an apocry-
phal, 'hidden' book of Jeremiah (cf. Jerome); (3) to assume that
Matthew is citing from Jewish oral tradition; (4) to accept Mat-
thew's indication as guided and warranted by the Holy Spirit.[8] Of
these four possibilities, an error of transmission is the most likely
possibility, according to Erasmus, but he adds:

> For the rest, even if there had been a lapse of memory in the name
> only, I do not think it becoming that anyone be so irritable that for
> that reason the authority of the entire Holy Scripture would
> waver.[9]

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[5] In the annotation 'Aperiam in parabolis os meum' on Matt 13:35 (ASD
VI–5, p. 226 ll. 838–847; from 1516 onwards). For Jerome, see *Comm. Matt.*
2.13.35 (CCSL 77, pp. 110–111, esp. ll. 938–944); cf. *Tract. Ps.* 77 (CCSL 78,
p. 66 ll. 67–70).

[6] In the annotation 'Ager ille Acheldamach' on Matt 27:8 (ASD VI–5, p. 332
ll. 576–582 and p. 662 ll. 662–664. For the reference to Jerome's *Epist.* 57, see
ASD VI–5, p. 333 n.ll. 582–600. The apocryphal Jeremiah is not mentioned in
Epist. 57, but in *Comm. Matt.* (see ASD VI–5, p. 335 n.ll. 610).

[7] "cum inter voces nonnulla sit affinitas" (ASD VI–5, p. 334 ll. 608–609).

[8] ASD VI–5, p. 334 ll. 605–610.622–628.

[9] "Caeterum etiam si fuisset in nomine duntaxat memoriae lapsus, non opi-
nor quenquam adeo morosum esse oportere, ut ob eam causam totius scripturae

Erasmus even adds a fifth possibility, according to which the prophet Zechariah may have had a double name, just as the Zechariah mentioned in Matt 23:35.[10] In 1535, finally, Erasmus adds Augustine's rather complicated ideas, which hold that Matthew's lapse of memory (in writing 'Jeremiah') was actually directed by the Holy Spirit.[11]

In Mark 3:17, Erasmus follows the Greek text with Βοανηρ-γές, but Stunica brought forward Jerome's conjecture, according to which 'Banereem' is correct. The conjecture aims to restore the proper Hebrew etymology, for the epithet of the sons of Zebedee is explained as 'sons of thunder' (υἱοὶ βροντῆς).[12] This time Erasmus' reaction is more negative, probably influenced by the desire to stress the overall injustice of Stunica's criticism against his New Testament edition.[13] Even if 'Boanerges' is a 'corruption' compared to 'Banereem', the former is what the evangelist wrote according to Erasmus, and what we have to interpret. Erasmus is willing to discuss Jerome's conjecture, but he cannot accept the idea that his Greek text should be considered corrupt because of it.

Erasmus mentions Jerome's conjecture on Mark 15:25, which is based on an assumed confusion of the numerals γ (3) and ϝ (6).[14] The conjecture intends to harmonise Mark's account with John 19:14, according to which the crucifixion had not yet begun 'about the sixth hour'. Normally Erasmus does not insist on absolute harmony between the Gospels. Here he indicates that Jerome's conjecture would be a solution to a problem which vexed

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sacrae labasceret autoritas" (ASD VI–5, p. 334 ll. 640–642). Cf. Erasmus' comments in *Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX, c. 1071 C.

[10]   ASD VI–5, p. 336 ll. 659–662.

[11]   ASD VI–5, p. 336 ll. 645–647. For Augustine, see *Cons.* 3.7.30 (CSEL 43, p. 305).

[12]   See Jerome, *Nom. hebr.* (CCSL 72, p. 142 ll. 9–10) and *Comm. Dan.* I.i.7 (CCSL 75 A, p. 780 ll. 76–79).

[13]   See *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, pp. 110–112 ll. 54–73 and the annotation 'Boanerges' (ASD VI–5, p. 370 ll. 473–488; especially the 1522 addition).

[14]   In the annotation 'Erat autem hora tertia' (ASD VI–5, p. 430 ll. 51–57). For Jerome, see *Tract. Ps.* 77 (CCSL 78, p. 67 ll. 81–84). Cf. Metzger, TC[2], pp. 99.216 (TC[1], pp. 118.252–253).

Augustine,[15] but he does not seem to be much vexed by it himself.[16]

In a long 1535 addition,[17] Erasmus reports an emendation derived from Cyril's commentary on John. He first presents the contradiction between the account in John 18:13–24 and the synoptics (e.g. Matt 26:57–75): in John, Peter's first denial is set at the house of Annas (John 18:15–18), while in the synoptic Gospels, notably Matthew, all three denials take place at the house of Caiaphas (Matt 26:69–74).[18] Augustine and others, says Erasmus, struggled with this difficulty.[19] He then records a solution he found in Cyril's commentary:

> Now from Cyril's commentary it seems that this whole difficulty of the matter is explained, for in both text and interpretation he shows clearly enough that in the Greek as well as in our [Latin] manuscripts some words were perhaps left out through the carelessness of scribes.[20]

The solution, translated to our verse numbers, consists in a rearrangement, placing verse 24 between verses 13 and 14,[21] so as to have all three denials take place in the house of Caiaphas. It has to be noted that the rearrangement (verses 13.24.14–23.24) is not a conjectural emendation made by Cyril;[22] it is simply the text he

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[15] See ASD VI–5, p. 430 ll. 59–61 and p. 431 n.l. 61.

[16] In this case the comparison with Beza's annotations is revealing for the differences between Erasmus and Beza in their conceptions of the New Testament text; see below, p. 301.

[17] See the annotation 'Cohors autem et tribunus' on John 18:12 (ASD VI–6, pp. 154–156 ll. 817–873). The addition is already found in the appendix of the 1527 edition (ASD VI–6, pp. 352–353 ll. 25–79), which is not noted in Reeve, 2, a.h.l. (but cf. Reeve, 3, pp. 4–6).

[18] Cf. Mark 14:66–72 and Luke 22:56–60; in Mark's and Luke's account, the name of the high priest is not given (Mark 14:53; Luke 22:54; cf. Matt 26:57). There are other problems, even if John's story is considered independently, but Erasmus concentrates on Peter's denial.

[19] For Augustine, see *Cons.* 3.6.21 and 24 (CSEL 43, pp. 292.295–297).

[20] "Verum ex Cyrilli Commentariis videtur haec tota quaestionis difficultas explicari, qui et legens et interpretans satis declarat et in Graecis et in nostris codicibus quaedam verba fortassis scribarum incuria praetermissa" (ASD VI–6, p. 154 ll. 831–834).

[21] Cf. NA[27] and TC[2], p. 215 (TC[1], p. 251).

[22] Two minor but not unimportant differences not indicated in NA[27] still deserve to be noted: in Cyril's commentary (see *Comm. Jo.* XI, ed. Pusey, III, p. 29 ll. 4–5), the first occurrence of verse 24 reads ἀπέστειλαν δὲ αὐτόν ..., while the second begins with ἀπέστειλεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄννας. The change to the plural ἀπέστειλαν makes this form parallel to ἀπήγαγον (or ἤγαγον) in verse 13

comments upon, without any reference to real or apparent contradictions between John's Gospel and the synoptics. It only becomes an emendation in Erasmus' annotation, when he indicates that the manuscripts may be at fault here. Characteristically, he leaves the final judgement to the reader:

> This, whatever it is, I wanted to be communicated to those who are eager to learn, without any prejudice.[23]

Jerry Bentley states that Erasmus "does not specifically endorse" this emendation,[24] and one gets indeed the impression that he only wanted to convey this piece of information once he had come across it, and therefore added almost an entire page to his *Annotationes*. Some details may even point towards Erasmus' reservation to accept the emendation. He writes: "We do not read what happened at Annas' house,"[25] thereby drawing attention to the fact that the rapid succession of Jesus being taken to Annas and to Caiaphas is rather strange.[26] Also strange becomes verse 24 itself, for it is repeated there; Erasmus cites Cyril's words that

> the divine evangelist usefully restrains his manner of relating, as [if it were] a swift-running horse, and returns backwards again.[27]

Finally, the words 'quicquid est' ('whatever it is', sc. 'whatever it is worth') make the sentence express more doubt than if they had been left out. In conclusion, Erasmus does not hesitate to share

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(and requires the omission of ὁ Ἄννας), though the text can make sense with the singular ἀπέστειλεν as well (cf. Beza's discussion, see below, pp. 304–305). The alternation between δέ and οὖν is indicated for verse 24 (at its usual place); actually, when the transposition is done, it would be logical to change οὖν into δέ in the first occurrence.

[23] "Hoc quicquid est, volui communicatum esse studiosis, citra cuiusquam praeiudicium" (ASD VI–6, p. 156 ll. 872–873).

[24] Bentley, 'Erasmus' Annotationes', p. 46.

[25] "quid sit apud Annam actum, non legitur" (ASD VI–6, p. 156 l. 860).

[26] Cyril's explanation, as recorded by Erasmus, is that Jesus had to be taken to Annas first, for he was the one who had hired Judas (cf. Cyril, *Comm. Jo.* XI, ed. Pusey, III, p. 28 ll. 11–15).

[27] Ἀνακόπτει χρησίμως καθάπερ ἵππον ὀξυδρομοῦντα τὸν τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τρόπον ὁ θεσπέσιος Εὐαγγελιστής, καὶ ὀπίσω πάλιν ἀνακομίζεται. *Comm. Jo.* XII, ed. Pusey, III, p. 43 ll. 13–15 (PG 74, c. 608); in the translation used by Erasmus: "*Quasi currentem equum, narrandi progressum, euangelista utiliter revocat, et ad priora rursum orationem reducit*" (ASD VI–6, p. 156 ll. 866–867). For the 1527 additions concerning Cyril's commentary, Erasmus perhaps used Trapezontius' translation in the edition published by Cratander, Basle 1524.

the fruits of his reading with his own readers, but he does not go so far as to accept the emendation. The importance of Erasmus' annotation is above all its reception history, for it made the emendation implied by Cyril's text accessible to both Luther and Beza.[28]

In general, we notice that Erasmus records patristic conjectures without predisposition for or against them. He is capable of thinking along the same lines, and weighs the conjectures according to their intrinsic merits. Most importantly, he wants to inform his readers. Only when the setting is in itself polemical, as in the exchanges with Stunica, he reacts more negatively.

6.2 VALLA

The various accounts of Paul's conversion in Acts[29] contain a striking contradiction. First, in Acts 9:7, it is explicitly stated that Paul's companions hear the heavenly voice, while later Acts 22:9 just as explicitly states the contrary.[30] In his annotation on Acts 22:9,[31] Erasmus first dismisses the contrived solution according to which Paul's companions heard the voice, but did not understand

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[28] For Luther, see below, p. 176; for Beza, see below, pp. 304–305.

[29] Acts 9:3–8; 22:6–11; 26:12–18.

[30] There may also be a contradiction in what Paul's companions are said to see. In Acts 9, they "could see no one" (verse 7), while only Paul is said to be surrounded by the light and to fall to the ground (verses 3–4). In Acts 22, although the light still surrounds Paul (verse 6), we read that "my companions saw the light" (verse 9). The latter detail is confirmed in Acts 26, where the light surrounds both Paul and his companions, who "all fell to the ground" (verses 13–14). This latter detail poses a further problem, for it is in contrast with Acts 9:7, where Paul's fellow-travellers "stood speechless". Erasmus notes this problem and writes, paraphrasing Valla: "What he discusses about 'falling' and 'standing' can be replied to with little trouble, since it is possible that they fell at the first shock and soon rose to their feet, while Paul remained lying down." ("Nam quod disserit de stando et cadendo, non ita magni negotii est dissolvere. Siquidem fieri potest, ut ad primum pavorem collapsi mox erexerint sese, Paulo adhuc iacente.") For an overview of older and more recent solutions, see Gerhard Lohfink, *Paulus vor Damaskus*, pp. 28–40 and 70.

[31] See the annotation 'Et qui mecum erant, lumen quidem viderunt' on Acts 22:9 (ASD VI–6, p. 314 ll. 95–98; from 1516 onwards); Erasmus ascribes this explanation to some 'modern' interpreters ('recentiores'), whom Hovingh identifies as e.g. Hugh of Saint Cher (ASD VI–6, p. 315 n.l. 96). Twentieth-century adherents or reinventors are given by Lohfink, *Paulus vor Damaskus*, p. 32.

it. He then discusses a conjecture by Valla that remedies this well-known problem:

> Valla estimated that the earlier place, where Luke tells this story in his own name, was corrupted by the interchange of two small words which are not very dissimilar from each other, at least in Greek, φῶς and φωνή; for the rest, Luke had written thus: 'Seeing the light, but hearing no one.[32]

We are to understand, of course, that Valla is emending Acts 9:7, but the exact content of his conjecture is not immediately clear. Therefore we have to turn to Valla's own words which Erasmus is paraphrasing. Valla writes:

> I do not know how to answer satisfactorily to the earlier question, unless I consider the first place, where Luke speaks in his own name, to be corrupted, because of the interchange of two words, 'hearing' and 'seeing'. Furthermore, to the Greek word φῶς, which means 'light', is itself similar φωνή, which means 'voice'; therefore, I think that Luke wrote down 'seeing the light, but hearing no one'.[33]

Thus Valla's conjecture, transferred to the Greek text, is to read θεωροῦντες μὲν τὸ φῶς, μηδένος δὲ ἀκούοντες instead of ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες. A rather drastic conjecture![34]

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[32] 'Valla ... existimat superiorem locum, in quo Lucas hanc historiam sub sua ipsius persona recenset, fuisse depravatum, transpositis duabus voculis, iisque inter sese non admodum dissimilibus, apud Graecos duntaxat, φῶς et φωνή; caeterum a Luca sic fuisse scriptum: *videntes quidem lumen, neminem autem audientes*' (ASD VI–6, p. 314 ll. 98–102; from 1516 onwards).

[33] "Priori quaestioni qua ratione satisfaciam nescio, nisi ut putem primum locum, ubi Lucas sua persona loquitur esse depravatum, permutatis locis duarum dictionum, 'audientes' et 'videntes'. Praeterea graeca voce φῶς, quae significat 'lumen', in sibi similem: φωνή, quae significat 'vocem', ut putem sic Lucam reliquisse scriptum: 'videntes quidem lumen, neminem autem audientes' " (Garin, 1, c. 853b; cited by Hovingh in ASD VI–6, p. 315 n.ll. 81–102).

[34] Conceivably Valla's idea of the textual transmission as implied by his annotation involves both 'corruption' and subsequent mistaken emendation, as follows:
(1) θεωροῦντες μὲν τὸ φῶς, μηδένος δὲ ἀκούοντες (the 'original' reading);
(2) ἀκούοντες μὲν τὸ φῶς, μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες ('corruption' through the interchange of θεωροῦντες and ἀκούοντες);
(3) ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες (the received text, arrived at by correcting τὸ φῶς).
The alternative is perhaps more likely:
(1) θεωροῦντες μὲν τὸ φῶς, μηδένος δὲ ἀκούοντες (the 'original' reading);
(2) θεωροῦντες μὲν την φωνήν, μηδένος δὲ ἀκούοντες ('corruption' through the

Interestingly, although Erasmus praises Valla in the same anno-
tation for his carefulness ('diligentia') and watchfulness ('vigilan-
tia') in examining the Bible,[35] it is not clear whether he approves
of his conjecture. In a 1527 addition, he simply presents yet
another solution to the textual discrepancy, according to which
the voice in Acts 9:7 is Paul's.[36] We may conclude that he simply
wants to inform his readers, and perhaps disagrees with Valla's
conjecture but does not want to scorn him openly.

6.3 LEFÈVRE D'ÉTAPLES

Heb 2:7 (the annotation 'Minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis'):
"Thou didst make him for a little while lower than the angels
(παϱ' ἀγγέλους) ..." (RSV).

The reading παϱ' ἀγγέλους in Heb 2:7 was subject to extensive
debate between Lefèvre and Erasmus.[37] The former held the text
to be corrupt, while the latter saw no reason for emendation.
Most aspects of their polemics had little to do with textual criti-
cism; only the few that do will be touched upon here.[38]

Lefèvre detects a translation error in Ps 8:6: the normal Vul-
gate, represented in the Gallican Psalter, renders the word מֵאֱלֹהִים
as 'ab angelis' ('than the angels'), depending on the erroneous
Septuagint reading παϱ' ἀγγέλους (LXX Ps 8:7).[39] It should be
translated as 'a Deo' ('than God'), as Jerome does in his trans-
lation 'according to the Hebrew'. As he assumes that the Epistle
to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew, he sees the

confusion of φῶς and φωνή);
(3) ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες (the received text as the
result of an emendation, the interchange of θεωροῦντες and ἀκούοντες).

[35] ASD VI–6, p. 313 ll. 72.73.
[36] ASD VI–6, p. 314 ll. 102–106; Erasmus ascribes this idea to Petrus
Comestor; it is found already in Chrysostom's *Hom. Act.*, PG 60, p. 328.
[37] See ASD IX–3 and CWE 83 (pp. xiii–xxxiii and 4–107).
[38] These aspects receive less attention in the introduction and notes in both
ASD IX–3 (by Andrea Steenbeek) and CWE 83 (by Guy Bedouelle).
[39] According to Lefèvre, the LXX translators erroneously thought the Psalm
(verses 4–8) to refer to human beings in general, and not to Christ (ASD IX–3,
p. 197 ll. 7–9).

same error at Heb 2:7, where Ps 8:6 is cited.[40] There the error calls for a correction:

> Wash away the blemishes of the manuscripts and recall to the anvil [i.e. reshape] the place of the most blessed Paul to the Hebrews, reading 'You have made him a little lower than God' ... Have the courage, do not fear anything, let the old error go away.[41]

Lefèvre not only proposes to correct the Vulgate reading according to the presumed *Hebraica veritas*, in a way by-passing the Greek,[42] but he even points out how Paul's words "should have been translated" into Greek,[43] namely as παρὰ τὸν θεόν, a rather obvious (re)translation. The following figure displays Lefèvre's view.

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[40] "The same error was made by the one who translated Paul's epistle to the Hebrews from Hebrew into Greek" ("Simili errore lapsus est qui epistolam Pauli ad Hebreos Hebraico sermone scriptam, vertit in Grecum"—*Quincuplex Psalterium* 1509, ASD IX–3, p. 197 ll. 9–10). Of course, any (conjectural) correction of Heb 2:7 is to be applied to Heb 2:9 as well. Lefèvre indeed scorns "the translator of Paul" on the occasion of Heb 2:9 as well (see *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* 1512, p. 133ᵛ); his 'understanding [of the text] based on the Greek' ('intelligentia ex Graeco') has 'a Deo' in both verses.

[41] "Mendas codicum eluite et ad incudem locum beatissimi Pauli ad Hebreos revocate, legentes: *minuisti eum paulominus a Deo* ... Audete, nichil vereamini, facessat vetus error" (*Quincuplex Psalterium* 1509, ASD IX–3, p. 200 ll. 93–96). Cf. *Quincuplex Psalterium* 1513, p. 74ᵛ: "many things have to be recalled to the anvil of the Hebrew truth (that is, to the author himself who wrote it through the Holy Spirit)" ("multa ad hebraicae veritatis incudem (id est ad eum ipsum qui per spiritum sanctum eam composuit authorem) esse revocanda"; partly cited by Bedouelle, *Le* Quincuplex Psalterium, p. 113).

[42] In *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* (1512) Lefèvre introduces the Greek readings in Hebrews consistently by 'interpres Pauli' ('the translator of Paul'). In a few other cases the appeal to the *Hebraica veritas* makes him criticise the supposed Greek translator (see his remarks on Heb 4:13 (p. 237ʳ); 5:1 (p. 238ʳ); 9:4 (p. 249ᵛ); 11:18 (p. 256ᵛ)). A statement of principle can be found at p. 238ʳ.

[43] "potius vertendum fuerat" (*S. Pauli epistolae XIV* 1512, ASD IX–3, p. 202 ll. 15–16).

Lefèvre's view: textual corruption
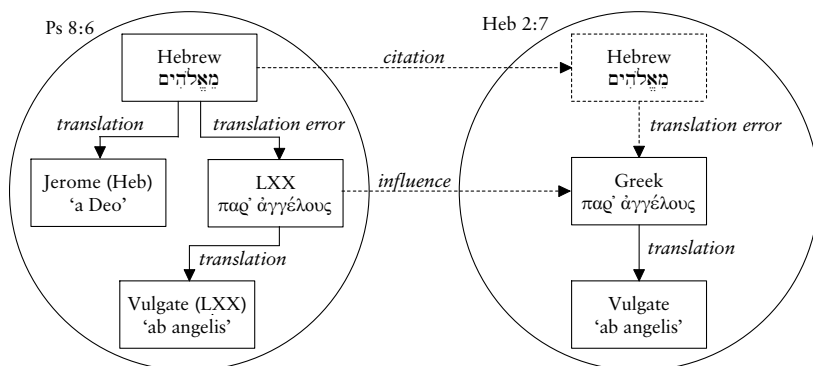
Erasmus does not share Lefèvre's assumption of a Hebrew origi-
nal of the epistle to the Hebrews,[44] nor the idea that παρ᾽ ἀγγέ-
λους in Ps 8:6 is a translation error. The latter element is even of
minor importance, for the author of Hebrews simply followed the
Septuagint reading. The following figure summarises Erasmus'
view.

Erasmus' view: no textual corruption
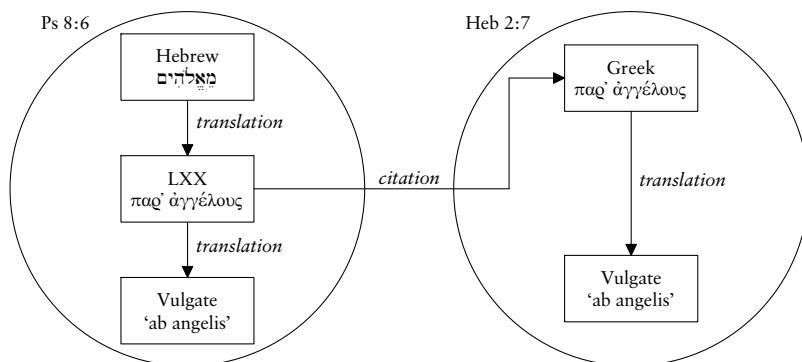
The text-critical battle-ground of the two scholars is the status of
the text. For Lefèvre, even the received text can and should be

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[44] *Apolog. ad Fabr. Stap.*, ASD IX–3, p. 164 ll. 1977–1980 (CWE 83, p. 81)
and p. 106 ll. 518–519 (CWE 83, p. 24). Earlier, Erasmus pointed out that if the
common opinion is accepted that Luke is the translator of Hebrews, the assump-
tion of an error is no longer acceptable (in the 1516 version of the annotation
'Minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis', ASD IX–3, p. 204 ll. 41–42).

emended according to the *Hebraica veritas*. His emendation of
Heb 2:7 rests upon the assumption of a Hebrew original of
Hebrews.[45] It is conjectural in a certain way, but it is not the ex-
istence of a lost reading in the Greek manuscripts that is postula-
ted.[46] For Erasmus, the text as it stands is not only acceptable, but
it has also been the accepted text from the beginning. Even if he
reacts rather energetically against Lefèvre's views on Heb 2:7,
Erasmus never denies the possibility of scholarly discussion.[47]

1 Cor 14:7 (the annotation 'Tamen quae sine anima sunt')

Interestingly, on another occasion Erasmus does not condemn
an implicit conjecture by Lefèvre, but only proposes another solu-
tion to the textual problem Lefèvre had indicated.[48] In 1516, he
approves of a conjecture which he infers from Lefèvre's commen-
tary, according to which ὅμως is an error for ὁμῶς or ὁμοίως:

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[45] The modern view, in general, agrees with Erasmus on this case:
– Hebrews was originally written in Greek, not in Hebrew;
– OT quotations in Hebrew are taken from the LXX, albeit with some degree of
freedom and textual variation; in the course of its transmission, some degree of
assimilation to the LXX text has taken place (see Aland and Aland, *Text*, p. 290
and especially Alan Cadwallader, 'Correction of Hebrews');
– the LXX translation παρ᾽ ἀγγέλους in Ps 8:6 (8:5) is not to be seen as incor-
rect, for אֱלֹהִים means 'godly beings' here (cf. Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalmen*,
p. 209);
– a strict distinction is to be made between the meaning of Ps 8 and its christolo-
gical application by the author of Hebrews (which is part of a general christolo-
gical hermeneutic);
– besides, analysis of the semantic structure shows that Ps 8:6 is probably to be
seen as part of the composite question that starts in verse 5 ('What is man ...'),
as in the *Statenvertaling* (cf. Job 7:17–18).

[46] Interestingly, Lefèvre's reasoning anticipates 'conjectures' such as Charles
Burney's appeal to an Aramaic original for the reading μονογενὴς θεοῦ in John
1:18. Burney assumes that the prologue of the Fourth Gospel derives from an
Aramaic original and considers the reading μονογενὴς θεός to be a misunder-
standing of the Aramaic יְהִיד אֱלָהָא ('the only-begotten of God') as יְהִיד אֱלָהָא
('the only-begotten God') (see Burney, *Aramaic Origin*, pp. 39–40). The fact that
μονογενὴς θεοῦ is mentioned as a *conjecture* in the Nestle editions (from N[17]
onwards) is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of Burney's *comment*.

[47] As Bedouelle indicates, Lefèvre's remark that all other points of view were
'impious' (a term with strong connotations of heresy) probably undermined
Erasmus' equanimity (*Le Quincuplex Psalterium*, pp. 130.132–133 and CWE
83, pp. xix–xx).

[48] Yet another conjecture by Lefèvre, the omission of καί before οὕτως in
Rom 5:12 is not noticed by Erasmus (see Lefèvre, *S. Pauli epistolae XIV* 1512,
pp. 80[r–v]; cf. p. 4[r]).

Lefèvre correctly changes [his translation], if the manuscripts had ὁμῶς or ὁμοίως. This fits altogether better to the meaning, and copyists easily err in these things.[49]

As usual, Erasmus does not adopt the reading in his text; elements such as these are almost always hidden in the *Annotationes*. In 1519, however, he rejects the reading:

Lefèvre changes 'tamen' ['however'] in 'similiter' ['similarly'] or 'perinde' ['likewise'], as if the manuscripts had ὁμῶς or ὁμοίως. And at first sight this seems to fit altogether better to the meaning, and copyists easily err in these things. But for me this idea is not plausible, first because the manuscripts, both Latin and Greek [which unanimously have 'tamen' and ὅμως respectively], are opposed to it, and further because it would not seem to fit to Paul's verbal refinement, especially since we can find this form of expression elsewhere in Paul, for instance in the third chapter of the letter to the Galatians.[50]

Erasmus refers to Gal 3:15, where ὅμως occurs once again.[51] The conjecture or its rebuttal are not very important intrinsically,[52] but Erasmus' annotation shows some aspects of his methodology. He refers to Lefèvre's conjecture as an 'opinion' (an 'idea'), and

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[49] "Recte mutat Faber si codices haberent ὁμῶς sive ὁμοίως. Et omnino magis quadrat ad sensum. Et in his facile labuntur scriptores" (ASD VI–8, p. 268 ll. 28–30 and app.). Lefèvre proposes 'similiter ac' or 'perinde ac', but does not explicitly indicate the reading ὁμῶς (*S. Pauli epistolae XIV* 1512, p. 128ᵛ; cf. p. 21ʳ). Van Poll–van de Lisdonk (in ASD VI–8, p. 269 n.l. 28—the second note to that line) indicates that Faber actually cites Paul's Greek text with ὅμως and suggests that this is an error.

[50] "Faber mutat *tamen* in 'similiter' aut 'perinde', ac si codices haberent ὁμῶς sive ὁμοίως. Et omnino prima fronte magis quadrare videtur ad sensum. Atque in his facile labuntur scriptores. Mihi tamen non probatur haec opinio primum refragrantibus tum Latinis tum Graecis exemplaribus. Deinde quod ad argutiam Paulinae sententiae non videatur attinere, praesertim quum hanc sermonis formam alias reperiamus apud Paulum, velut in epistolae ad Galatas capite tertio" (ASD VI–8, p. 268 ll. 28–34; before 1535, 'attingere' is printed instead of 'attinere').

[51] Cf. van Poll–van de Lisdonk in ASD VI–8, p. 269 n.l. 34. She also refers to BDR §450₂ (ASD VI–8, p. 269 n.l. 28 (the second note to that line) and n.l. 34). "Wettstein schlägt ... ὁμῶς vor", according to her (ASD VI–8, p. 269 n.l. 28 (the first note)), but it seems that Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.) simply cites from Jean Gagny's commentary (*Scholia* (1543), p. 49ʳ), without expressing himself on the value of the suggestion.

[52] The opinions of exegetes still differ between a displaced ὅμως ('nevertheless') and a ὅμως that is similar to the adverb ὁμῶς and thus simply has the meaning 'likewise' for which Lefèvre conjectures a different word (cf. BDAG s.v. ὅμως).

he does not dismiss it immediately, but discusses it seriously. In doing so, he combines what today is referred to as 'external' and 'internal' evidence.[53]

6.4 STUNICA AND TITELMANS

As we have seen so far, Erasmus does not reject conjectures out of hand, neither old or new ones. This is also clear from several re-actions to conjectures proposed by Stunica, the most important (and perhaps most learned) of Erasmus' critics. It is worthwhile to review the spectre of Erasmian reactions and to reflect on the arguments Erasmus brings forward, as well as on the reasons behind these arguments.

In 1522, Erasmus discusses a conjecture on Acts 4:36 by means of which Joseph's surname is brought in agreement with the meaning υἱὸς παρακλήσεως indicated by Luke:

> Someone thinks that ... this word is corrupted, and that instead of 'Barnabas' 'Barnahum' should be read, a Syriac and not a Hebrew word.[54]

As often in the *Annotationes*, Erasmus' interlocutors remain anon-ymous. In his apology against Stunica, he writes more directly:

> Stunica denies that 'Barnabas' means anything of the kind that Luke translates; he concludes that all Greek manuscripts are cor-rupted and that 'Barnahum' was written by Luke. Others may see whether Stunica's conjecture is correct, but one should not impute an error to me, who followed the authors Luke and Jerome.[55]

Typically, Erasmus does not condemn Stunica's conjecture, though this can also be ascribed to the fact that he is engaged in

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[53] In 1 Cor 14:7, Lefèvre's first conjecture ὁμῶς does not really qualify as a conjecture, for it only concerns the accentuation. In this case, printing ὁμῶς would simply be a (bad) editorial decision (but cf. BDR §450$_2$).

[54] "Est qui putet hanc vocem ... depravatam, ac pro Barnaba legendum Bar-nahum, ac vocem esse Syram, non Hebraicam" (in the annotation 'Quod est filius consolationis'—ASD VI–6, p. 220 ll. 18–19).

[55] "Stunica negat Barnabas quicquam huiusmodi significare quale Lucas interpretatur et coniectat omnes Graecorum codices esse depravatos atque a Luca scriptum fuisse Barnahum. An recte divinet Stunica, viderint alii, mihi non debet impingere errorem, qui Lucam et Hieronymum sequutus sum autores"— *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 148 ll. 727–731.

matters other than discussing its value. In the annotation, Erasmus concludes on Stunica's conjecture 'Barnahum':

> Though I do not dare to venture a conjecture in the light of such a great consensus among the manuscripts, I do not intend to refute it sharply.[56]

Though the lack of manuscript support poses a problem, Erasmus is willing to consider such conjectures. The matter becomes different when the conjecture is also intrinsically unnecessary. In Acts 12:8, for example, Erasmus had provided 'subliga soleas tuas' ('bind your sandals under your feet') as a more exact translation of ὑπόδησαι τὰ σανδάλιά σου than the Vulgate's 'calcia te caligas tuas' ('put on your boots'). Stunica, in reaction, had tried to defend the reading 'calcia' by supposing that it reflects ὑπόδυσον. This is essentially a conjecture, and Erasmus disapproves of it, both for internal and external reasons:

> But what is the use of this conjecture, when ὑπόδησον fits very well, the verb is very frequent in Greek, and the consensus of the manuscripts is complete?[57]

An unnecessary conjecture stands self-condemned. A similar case is found in Acts 27:40, in Erasmus' discussion of Stunica's conjecture 'antemonem' for 'artemonem' (typically, the word 'antemonem' is given in Latin).[58] Stunica wants to provide a word meaning 'sail', which the context clearly demands; according to him,

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[56] "Quod ut ego in tanto codicum consensu divinare non audeo, ita non est animus acriter refellere"—ASD VI–6, p. 220 ll. 19–20; from the 1522 addition to the annotation. Cf. Erasmus' reaction to Stunica's conjecture ἐλλογεῖτο (on Rom 5:13): "... as though truly it were not shameless to disagree with so great a consensus of the Greek volumes ..." ("Quasi vero non sit impudens dissentire a tanto consensu Graecorum voluminum"—in the 1522 addition to the annotation 'Non imputabitur'; translation CWE 56, p. 162; cf. *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 166 l. 46).

[57] "Sed quid opus erat hac divinatione, cum ὑπόδησον probe quadraret, verbum Graecis usitatissimum, et codicum maximus sit consensus?"—*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 150 ll. 791–792. Stunica's conjecture is not even mentioned in the later editions of the *Annotationes*. The Greek text in Acts 12:8, of course, is not the improbable active ὑπόδησον but the middle ὑπόδησαι, while the correct form of ὑποδύω would be ὑπόδυθι (less probably ὑπόδυσαι or even ὑπόδυσον). Cf. de Jonge's note in ASD IX–2, p. 151 n.l. 786. Apparently both Stunica and Erasmus did not verify the correct forms here.

[58] *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 162 ll. 960–971; cf. de Jonge's comments, p. 163 n.ll. 960–961. The conjecture is mentioned in passing in the *Annotationes* (ASD VI–6, p. 342 ll. 779–780).

'artemon' does not mean 'sail'. The conjecture is dismissed by Erasmus, and his reasoning is interesting. It comprises three elements: first, the 'conjecturality' of the reading itself: Stunica goes against all Greek and Latin manuscripts;[59] second, the meaning of the proposed conjecture, 'antemonem' itself, rests on slant evidence;[60] third, the normal text with 'artemonem' (or τὸν ἀρτέμωνα) is perfectly acceptable.[61] The latter observation is introduced by the following words:

> It does not seem to me that the text needs to be changed.[62]

Erasmus is willing to consider conjectures,[63] but it all depends on the quality of the argumentation. There have to be good reasons to go against a firmly established reading.[64]

Acts 7:43 (the annotation 'Et transferam vos trans Babylonem')

In this verse, the words "I will carry you away beyond Babylon" (KJV) are remarkable, for two reasons. First, removal to Babylon would seem punishment enough, and second, as a citation the text diverges exactly on this point from its source, Amos 5:25–27, which has 'beyond Damascus'. The first reason may have prompted Erasmus to translate ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος initially as 'in Babylonem' ('to Babylon'). This translation is not very literal and was criticised by Stunica, who for the second reason

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[59] "diffisus omnibus Graecorum ac Latinorum codicibus"—*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 162 l. 960.

[60] *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 162 ll. 961–964 and n.ll. 963–965.

[61] *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 162 ll. 965–971.

[62] "Mihi non videtur esse mutanda scriptura"—*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 162 ll. 965–966. Screech, citing these words, remarks: "The whole of Erasmus' life and work prove that he was not striking an attitude when he exclaimed ... '*Mihi non videtur esse mutanda Scriptura*' " (in the Preface to Reeve, 2, p. XXIII). Still, the serious textual work is influenced by the polemical setting.

[63] He even mentions the conjecture in the 1522 addition to his annotation on Acts 27:40 ('Levantes artemonem'), typically omitting Stunica's name ("some would prefer that ... be written"—"sunt qui ... malint scribi"—ASD VI–6, p. 342 ll. 779–780).

[64] Cf. Erasmus' reaction to Stunica's suggestion to read φωνῇ instead of φωνή in Acts 12:22 (*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 152 ll. 801–811 and the 1522 addition to annotation 'Dei voces').

just mentioned proposed to read ἐπέκεινα Δαμασκοῦ ('beyond Damascus'), in agreement with Amos 5:27.[65]

Erasmus' reaction is characteristic. He defends his translation by saying that the reading 'in Babylonem' is actually found in some Vulgate manuscripts—which is probably not correct[66]—and he notes that he could not pay attention to every aspect.[67] In 1522, in the first edition published after his apology against Stunica, Erasmus changes his translation to 'ultra Babylonem' ('beyond Babylon'). In a new annotation, he now exposes internal *depravatio* in the Vulgate transmission by which 'trans' ('beyond') is replaced by 'in' ('to'). He analyses it as an effort to bring the text in agreement with Amos 5:25–27 and reports Jerome's way (which at times resembles Erasmus' way of reasoning) of defending Stephen (or Luke):

> Jerome excuses Stephen by saying that he has rendered the [prophet's] meaning rather than the words that 'the Jews are led beyond Damascus to Babylon', or 'beyond Babylon'.[68]

If actually Erasmus did not know any manuscripts with the reading 'in Babylonem', he turns out to be describing his own initial decision instead of an error in the Vulgate transmission, as well as Jerome's argument against it!

Finally he points to Stunica's conjecture, again without mentioning his name, without approving or condemning it:

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[65] In Erasmus' words: "Stunica prefers to conjecture that this place too is corrupted in the Greek and Latin manuscripts, and that instead of ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος should be read ἐπέκεινα Δαμασκοῦ. He says that this is nothing new in the Holy Scriptures; thus in Matthew 'Isaiah' is put instead of 'Asaph', and also 'Jeremiah' instead of 'Zechariah'." ("Stunica suspicari mavult et hunc locum in Graecis ac Latinis codicibus omnibus esse depravatum, et pro ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος legendum ἐπέκεινα Δαμασκοῦ. Negat hoc esse novum in sacris litteris; sic in Matthaeo *Esaias* positum esse pro *Asaph*, et in eodem *Hieremiam* positum pro *Zachariam*"—ASD IX–2, p. 148 ll. 740–743; as de Jonge indicates, Erasmus writes 'this place too' because he discusses another conjecture by Stunica just before). References are to Matt 13:35 and 27:9; both conjectures are made by Jerome.

[66] No such reading 'in Babylonem' is indicated in vg^st or by de Jonge in ASD IX–2, p. 149 n.l. 732; vg^ww a.h.l. indicates the Book of Armagh.

[67] *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 148 ll. 733–746.

[68] "Hieronymus sic excusat Stephanum, ut dicat eum magis sensum reddidisse quam verba, quod Iudaei trans Damascum ducti sunt in Babylonem sive trans Babylonem" (ASD VI–6, p. 232 ll. 294–296). Erasmus' opinion that Jerome refers to the meaning of Amos 5:25–27 is explicit in *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 148 l. 738.

> Some prefer to acknowledge that the Scripture is corrupted, and that 'beyond Babylon' was written [by the copyists] instead of 'beyond Damascus'.[69]

Erasmus choice of the word 'acknowledge' ('fateri') is revelatory here, and explains why he does not condemn the conjecture. Stunica is not defending the Vulgate against the Greek, but applies conjectural reasoning to both. To this kind of 'exchange of learning' Erasmus never objects, even if he prefers a different solution himself.

In 1516, Erasmus had corrected the reading 'imputabatur' ('was imputed') in Rom 5:13 on the basis of the Greek ἐλλογεῖται (present tense). In 1522, the annotation contains an addition in which a late Vulgate-inspired conjecture by Stunica is discussed (and rejected); Stunica wants to read the imperfect ἐλλογεῖτο [sic] instead of the present ἐλλογεῖται, thereby alleging that Erasmus' Greek text is incorrect and the Vulgate correct.[70] Erasmus remarks that the correct Greek would be ἐνελογεῖτο,[71] and that moreover the present time remains the best choice, as the Donatian manuscript[72] had also implied it when translating μὴ ὄντος νόμου by 'quum lex non est' ('when there is no law'). He has to retract somewhat in 1535, for he found ἐλογεῖτο in Chrysostom's commentaries and even ἐλλογεῖτο in Theophylact's,[73] but he ascribes both to textual corruption.

The reason for Erasmus' rejection becomes even more clear from the direct discussion with Stunica:

> The translator, he says, rendered 'was imputed' ('imputabatur'), which he would not have done if ἐλλογεῖται had been written. But

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[69] "Sunt qui malunt fateri scripturam esse depravatam, et pro *trans Damascum* scriptum fuisse *trans Babylonem*" (ASD VI–6, p. 232 ll. 296–297).

[70] See the annotation 'Non imputabatur' on Rom 5:13. Again, Stunica's name is not mentioned. In the 1522 addition, he is referred to as "a certain quite erudite gentleman" ("Quidam non ineruditus"; CWE 56, p. 162). Some of Erasmus' irony is lost in this translation.

[71] Both in *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* (ASD IX–2, p. 166 ll. 54–64) and in the 1522 addition to the annotation Erasmus does not miss the opportunity to belittle his opponent because of this error.

[72] On the Vulgate manuscripts used by Erasmus see ASD VI–5, pp. 5–7 (cf. ASD VI–6 pp. 2–3).

[73] Cf. PG 124, c. 404 D v.l.

what if what was written by the translator has been corrupted by the copyists?[74]

This instance can be nicely illustrated with the decision chart (above, p. 25): when presented with a clear textual difference between the Greek and the Latin, it is possible to suppose that the latter reflects a different Greek text. In this case, there is a far better option, for internal corruption in the transmission of the Vulgate can be demonstrated.

In John 15:6, Stunica again tries to defend a Vulgate reading against the Greek by demanding that αὐτό (reflected by 'eum') be read instead of αὐτά.[75] Erasmus erroneously thinks that the former is unattested, that is, a conjecture, and reacts:[76]

Though no manuscript has this [reading], he declares the place to be corrupt on his own authority. If something similar were done by

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[74] "Interpres, inquit, vertit *imputabatur*, non facturus si scriptum fuisset ἐλλογεῖται. Quid si quod scriptum est ab interprete depravatum fuit a scribis?" (*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 166 ll. 49–51).

[75] Both readings, αὐτά and αὐτό, are widely 'attested'; cf. Brown's note on this verse in ASD VI–2 (p. 163, note on verse 6 'eos'). The Vulgate reading 'eum' either reflects the Greek reading αὐτό or, more probably, represents an independent correction of 'eos', which is attested as well, because of the preceding singular form 'palmes' ('vine branch').

[76] There are actually some more errors in Erasmus' treatment of John 15:6. In Erasmus' 1516 translation 'et colligunt ea' the word 'ea' is obviously intended as a correction of the Vulgate's 'eum' (the Greek has καὶ συνάγουσιν αὐτά), but it is not correct, for it refers to vine branches, which though neuter in Greek (κλήματα) are masculine in Latin ('palmites') (Erasmus' error is also noted by Asso, *Teologia*, p. 122 n. 179). In this case, Erasmus' translation and his annotation do not correspond, for in the 1516 annotation the correct translation 'et colligunt eos' is indicated (ASD VI–6, p. 146 ll. 647–648 and p. 147 app.cr.). In the second edition, the translation is brought into agreement with the annotation, but something remarkable happens in the errata: the lemma of the annotation is corrected into 'et colligent ea', which creates the false impression that the Vulgate has the solecism 'ea', the form which was actually introduced by Erasmus himself as a hasty correction of the Vulgate's 'eum'. Erasmus probably concluded that such an obvious error in his 1516 translation simply had to be an uncorrected Vulgate reading. Similarly, in the list of 'solecisms let in by the translator [the Vulgate]' ('soloecismi per interpretem admissi'), Erasmus acribes to the Vulgate his own error of slavishly copying the neuter gender of the Greek word and not respecting the masculine gender required in Latin (NT 1519, p. 84 (p. Gg 6ᵛ); NT 1522, p. C 5ᵛ; *Annot.* 1527, p. Oo 2ʳ; LB VI, p. *5ᵛ; Reeve 3, p. 11; for the 'lists of deficiencies', see above, p. 13 n. 16). In his *Assertio* Stunica notes that the Vulgate actually reads 'eum' and tries to defend that reading.

me, how loudly he would yell that Erasmus emends the [original] text of the evangelist.[77]

Similarly, in Acts 20:24, Stunica wants to correct the Greek in order to sustain the Vulgate reading 'pretiosiorem' ('more valuable'). He probably demands the comparative degree of τιμίαν (τιμιωτέϱαν) (which would demand in turn to be followed by μου or ἐμοῦ). More important is Erasmus's statement of principle:[78]

> In order to protect the translator, he [Stunica] corrects Luke, though no Greek manuscript has a different reading. How can he claim this? Because Valla passes this place silently. What logic![79]

If he wants to, Erasmus can use the argument of manuscript evidence against conjectures, that is, he senses that a conjecture is a special kind of reading. In his writings against Stunica,[80] he repeatedly criticises his opponent for venturing conjectures on the Greek text. Moreover, he does so with an explicit appeal to the consensus of the (Greek) manuscripts. This appeal shows that Erasmus can use the hypothetical aspect of conjectural emendation as its Achilles' heel. However, the polemical setting of the exchange between the two scholars has to be taken into consideration. Stunica's desire to defend the Vulgate *à tout prix*[81] is diametrically opposed to Erasmus' conviction that the Vulgate text is seriously flawed.

This central point can be found in Erasmus' rebuttal of Stunica's conjecture on Rom 5:13 (see above, p. 171). Accepting the conjecture would mean that the Greek reading reflected by the (late) Vulgate is preferred to the directly attested reading. Erasmus writes:

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[77] "Id cum nullus habeat codex, tamen pro sua auctoritate pronuntiat locum esse depravatum. Si quid fieret a me simile, quo boatu vociferaretur Erasmum emendare sermonem euangelistae" (*Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.*, LB IX, cc. 396 F–397 A (no. 25)).

[78] Cf. the annotation 'Nec facio animam preciosiorem quam me' (ASD VI–6, pp. 305–306 ll. 901–907).

[79] "... ut tueatur interpretem, corrigit Lucam, cum nullus codex Graecus habeat aliam scripturam. Unde id asserit? Quod Laurentius locum praeterierit tacitum. O syllogisten!" (*Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.*, LB IX, c. 397 F; on Acts 20:24 (no. 34)).

[80] Notably *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.* and *Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.*

[81] Rummel, 'Open Letter', pp. 443–446 and de Jonge, ASD IX–2, pp. 18–20.

That will be really nice if we were to correct a Greek reading from the Latin instead of the reverse, that is, if according to the Greek proverb 'the cart will lead the ox.'[82]

Instead of simply exposing what he felt to be Stunica's biased approach (which Erasmus surely felt to be so), Erasmus presents his adversary as engaged in far-fetched and unsustainable conjectural emendation. Stunica could have answered that Erasmus, on other occasions, does not hesitate to propose conjectural solutions to text-critical problems.

Especially in his *Assertio*, Stunica addresses Erasmus' 'lists of deficiencies' in the Vulgate,[83] which show that the translator sometimes erred, and therefore that the Vulgate needs to be corrected; in short, the lists are clearly intended to justify the heart of Erasmus' enterprise. Stunica has several strategies at his disposal to counter the alleged solecisms, two of which are text-critical in character and have bearings on conjectural emendation.[84] He can challenge either the Greek reading Erasmus uses or the Latin one. In the former case, the Vulgate reading is simply said to reflect a different Greek text, while in the latter the error is no longer ascribed to the translator, but to the copyists. These strategies are sometimes applied without manuscript evidence, and Erasmus is quick to point out that Stunica is then engaged in heavily biased conjectural emendation.[85]

On the details, much is to be desired on both sides, but the issue shows clearly that for Erasmus conjectural emendation of whatever kind is not a valid means of defending the Vulgate; he

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[82] "Bellum erit vero, si praepostere Graecam lectionem e Latina castigabimus, hoc est, si iuxta Graecorum proverbium currus bovem aget" (*Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX–2, p. 166 ll. 51–53). Erasmus discusses the adage ἡ ἅμαξα τὸν βοῦν ἕλκει in his *Adagia*, see ASD II–2, p. 154 (no. 628).

[83] Cf. the title of Stunica's work: *Assertio ecclesiasticae translationis Novi Testamenti a soloecismis quos illi Erasmus Roterodamus impegerat* ('Vindication of the ecclesiastical translation of the New Testament from the solecisms forced upon it by Erasmus of Rotterdam' (Rome, 1524); see further de Jonge's description in ASD IX–2, p. 28 (n. 126)). For information on the lists, see above, p. 13 n. 16.

[84] For the other strategies, see ASD IX–2, pp. 29–30; de Jonge does not discuss this interesting aspect of conjectural emendation.

[85] Erasmus' (late) reaction to Stunica's *Assertio* is the *Epist. apolog. adv. Stun.* (LB IX, cc. 391–400; cf. EE 1466).

can use the absence of manuscript 'evidence' as a biting argument against such conjectural proposals.

A mirror of Stunica's conjectures can be found in Erasmus' veiled conjecture on Rom 9:5. Erasmus, challenged by Stunica to defend his idea that the New Testament expressly states Christ's divinity only in a few ('two or three') places, tries to deprive Stunica of one of his ten proof-texts by means of conjectural emendation. Under the pressure of the Valladolid assembly, Erasmus withdraws this conjecture, maintaining, however, that the text is ambiguous (see above, p. 117).

A repetition of the moves made by Stunica and Erasmus can be witnessed in the exchange with Titelmans on Rom 9:10. As we have seen above (p. 152), Erasmus emends the Vulgate reading 'ex uno concubitu' to 'ex uno concubitum'. One of his many critics, Titelmans, tries to 'save' the Vulgate reading, even by conjecture: he proposes to read κοίτου in Greek instead of κοίτην.[86] As a result, a conjecture on the Latin text stands against a conjecture on the Greek text. It is again important to note the polemical setting. The first conjecture, made by Erasmus, shows how 'corrupt' the Vulgate is, while the second, made by Titelmans, represents an effort to maintain the Vulgate by assuming an error in the Greek tradition. Erasmus is right, as we know now, but more interesting are his comments on the case:

> '[The translation] "from intercourse one time" is fine,' he says, 'if we read κοίτου instead of κοίτην.' Hasn't he unravelled the knot beautifully? I remarked that the word [in the Latin Vulgate] was corrupted by copyists: *concubitu* [from intercourse], instead of *concubitum* [having intercourse]; but he prefers to regard the language of the apostle as corrupt, since no Greek manuscript has this [reading], nor does any Greek interpret [the passage] in this way.[87]

Conjectural emendation on the Greek text remains inadmissible for Erasmus if the motive for it is to defend the 'corrupt' Vulgate text. With hindsight, it is easy to see how at such moments Erasmus' text-critical judgement was clouded by his anti-Vulgate bias.

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[86] Cf. *Resp. ad collat. iuv. geront.*, LB IX, c. 1003 D.

[87] " 'Bene habet', inquit, '*ex uno concubitu*, si pro κοίτην legamus κοίτου.' Nonne belle explicuit nodum? Ego notavi vocem a librariis depravatam, 'concubitu' pro 'concubitum'; ille mavult apostoli sermonem depravatum haberi, quum nullus Graecus codex hoc habeat neque quisquam Graecus ad eundem modum interpretetur" (this part only in 1535; translation CWE 56, p. 257).

The acceptance of such pro-Vulgate conjectures would compromise his entire New Testament project.

6.5 THE RECEPTION HISTORY OF ERASMUS' ANNOTATIONS

In previous centuries, Erasmus' *Annotationes* have been an important source of text-critical scholarship. As Valla's method was followed (and adapted) by Erasmus,[88] Erasmus' work would show later critics the way to a method of doing textual criticism. A thorough exploration of the reception history of Erasmus' *Annotationes* and of the conjectures contained therein falls outside the scope of this section. In Part Two of this study we will encounter a number of instances where Beza is engaged in conjectural emendation while reacting to Erasmus' *Annotationes*.[89] A few other examples of Erasmus' influence on the textual criticism of the New Testament will be presented here.

John 18:13–24

In his *Textual Commentary*, Metzger discusses some rearrangements of the order of verses in John 18:13–27, at the end of which he adds the (bracketed) remark that "Luther, quite independently, proposed a similar order."[90] However, as we will see, Luther's adoption of a transposition for these verses depends directly on Erasmus' discussion and thus indirectly on Cyril's commentary. In my reconstruction, his involvement with John 18:13–24 comprises four steps:

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[88] Cf. Augustin Renaudet, *Préréforme*, p. 479: "... par la publication du livre de Laurent Valla, Érasme entendait avant tout donner à ses lecteurs une leçon de méthode; leur montrer comment ils devraient remonter aux sources et conduire l'examen critique des textes sacrés." The most important reader was Erasmus himself.

[89] A small example: at John 5:22 Erasmus infers from Cyprian's works the reading οὐδέν instead of οὐδένα, without pronouncing a preference for either reading (in the annotation 'Neque enim pater iudicat quenquam'—from 1522 onwards—ASD VI–6, p. 84 ll. 272–273; the lemma of the annotation strangely is 'Filius enim non iudicat quenquam' in 1522 and 1527) For Cyprian, see *Test.* 2.28 (CCSL 3, p. 67 l. 29) and 3.33 (not 2.33 as Hovingh's note in ASD VI–6, p. 85 n.l. 272 implies; CCSL 3, p. 128 l. 3). Beza prefers this οὐδέν in his annotation (from his first edition (1556) onwards; cf. Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 146; 1812, p. 272).

[90] TC[2], p. 215 (TC[1], p. 252).

1. A sermon delivered on December 19th, 1528, in which Luther points out a striking problem: Peter's first denial seems to take place in Annas's house, whereas in the synoptic Gospels all denials take place in Caiaphas's house.[91] Luther tends to accept the latter view, and to hold the evangelist responsible for the 'error', but the matter is only for the learned to worry about:

> An idle person may scorn the evangelist on this point, but it brings you neither to heaven or to hell. ... Where follows 'misit' ('he sent'), John repeats what he failed to mention before. These keen and smart questions or opinions do not bother us.[92]

In the sermon delivered on January 23rd, 1529 (on John 19:19–28), Luther briefly returns to the issue, leaving it to the shrewd:

> Those who want to study the Bible and are embarrassed by the seeming disagreement of the text, when the others [tell us] 'in the house of Caiaphas' and John in Annas's, and the text expresses 'he sent', giving the impression that the denial took place in Annas's house, I leave it to the shrewd. It can have happened, that John did not keep the [right] order in telling.[93]

2. Luther's marginal comments in Erasmus' 1527 *Annotationes*: in the appendix to this edition, the long 1535 addition to the annotation on John 18:12 discussed above (p. 158) can already be found. Where Erasmus relates Cyril's solution for the awkward repetition of verse 24 at its proper place, Luther writes in the margin:

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[91] See above, p. 158. The *Nachschrift* as presented in WA 28, pp. 268–271 repeatedly confuses Annas and Caiaphas, but the general idea is clear, whether or not Luther's words are faithfully reproduced.

[92] "Ein unnutzer geist solt wol die Euangelisten druber schelten, *Sed* man fert druber widder gen himel noch hel. ... *Ideo quod sequitur* "*misit*" [18:24], Johannes widder holet, *quod prius* verseumpt. *Nos non respicimus illas* scharf und klug *quaestiones, opiniones*" (WA 28, pp. 269–271).

[93] "*Qui in Bibliis volunt studere et habent tentationem, quasi* text *non consentiant, cum alii* 'in Caiphae domo', *et Iohannes in Hannae unam, et textus* 'Misit' *sonat, quasi abnegatio sit facta in Annae domo, hoc committe* den scharfsinnigen. *Potest fieri, quod Iohannes ordinem non servarit in loquendo*" (WA 28, p. 291).

> What if this phrase were transposed through an error of the scribes, as it accidentally tends to happen that a verse from a preceding leaf is transferred to another when the leaf is turned.[94]

Thus Luther is now engaged in emendation, in accepting Cyril's order; he adds something of his own by ascribing the repetition to scribal clumsiness. He may have been inclined to do so, having paid some attention to the textual problem before.[95]

3. A marginal comment in his 1540 German New Testament.[96] As the page is torn, only a few letters are left of the 'handschriftliche Eintragung', but the note was adopted in subsequent editions of the Luther Bible.

4. A marginal note in the Luther Bible, from 1541 onwards: after the words 'fur das Volck' (the end of 18:14), a small 'a' refers to a marginal note 'a':

> Here should be the verse 'And Annas sent him bound to the high priest Caiaphas', below at 'A' [=18:24]. It has been transposed by the scribe when he turned the leaf, as often happens.[97]

Luther repeats, in similar terms, his assumption of scribal oversight made in the comment on Erasmus' annotation. The form of the emendation, as can be seen, differs from Cyril's order in two respects: he places verse 24 after verse 14 (and not verse 13), and he assumes that verse 24 has to be omitted at its usual place. Especially the latter aspect shows that he is engaged in conjectural emendation.

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[94] "Quid, si particula huc vitio scriptorum sit transposita, ut casu fieri solet, quod praecedentis folii versiculus verso folio in aliud folium transponatur" (WA 60, p. 227). Luther's 'eigenhändige Randbemerkungen' are preserved in the copy of Erasmus' 1527 edition present in the Library of the Groningen University and edited in WA 60, pp. 192–228. They are generally dated around 1533, but some may be as early as 1528 (see WA 60, pp. 195–196). On these marginalia, see C.P. Hofstede de Groot, 'Luther in seiner Studierstube'.

[95] As Luther became acquainted with Erasmus' 1527 edition as early as 1528, the first step of my reconstruction can also be imagined as slightly more complicated, for he may have read the first part of Erasmus' annotation, in which the problem of the contradiction is expounded, before he actually preached on John's passion narrative in 1528–1529.

[96] WA Bibel 4, p. 303.

[97] "Hie solt stehen der Vers. Vnd Hannas sandte jn gebunden zu dem Hohenpriester Caiaphas. Infra A. Ist von dem Schreiber versetzt im vmbwerffen des blats, wie offt geschicht" (WA Bibel 6, p. 399). 'Infra A' refers to a capital letter a in the margin of verse 24—verse numbering was introduced a few years later.

On this note, which as a matter of course became widely known, all subsequent reports of Luther's conjectural emendation are based.[98] In conclusion, Metzger's statement cited above that Luther's proposal was made 'quite independently' needs some modification. Though it can be argued that he had independently struggled with the passage, Luther shows independent thinking only in his explication of the origin of the faulty verse order. The idea of a rearrangement itself clearly depends on the information on Cyril provided by Erasmus in 1527.

Acts 16:12

Clericus's conjecture on Acts 16:12, which happens to be the only conjecture that has been adopted in the whole MCT, may have been inspired by Erasmus' *Annotationes*, which Clericus edited as part of the Leyden *Opera Omnia* (LB).[99] Erasmus gives much geographic information, and at the end of his note on Neapolis (verse 11), he writes: "The town of Philippi lies in the first part of Macedonia."[100] This is exactly the meaning to which Clericus adapts the Greek (πρώτης μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας).[101]

Rom 9:5

In this much disputed verse, Baljon detects a gloss:

> Nothing else remains us but to assume that Rom 9:5b is the exclamation of a reader who herewith expressed his gratitude towards God, who had blessed Israel so abundantly (verses 4 and 5). The form he chose was not a happy one.[102]

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[98] E.g. Aidan Mahoney, 'New Look', p. 137 n. 3.

[99] The conjecture can be found in Clericus's additions to Henry Hammond's *Novum Testamentum*, second edition, Frankfurt 1714, vol. 1, p. 559 (not in the first edition, Amsterdam 1700).

[100] "Philippi civitas est in prima parte Macedoniae" (ASD VI–6, p. 276 ll. 243–244; an addition made in 1519).

[101] According to Hovingh (ASD VI–6, p. 277 n.ll. 239–243), Erasmus depends on the Venerable Bede for the geographical information he gives on Philippi.

[102] "Er blijft ons niets anders over dan aan te nemen, dat Rom. 9:5b eene uitboezeming is van een' lezer, die hierin zijne dankbaarheid uitte jegens God, die Israël zoo overvloedig had gezegend (vs. 4 en 5). In den vorm, welken hij koos, was hij niet gelukkig" (*Tekst*, p. 22; cf. Baljon, 'Rom. IX: 5b', p. 234). In his *NTG*, Baljon maintains his conjecture; he places a full stop after σάρκα and puts ὁ ὢν ... ἀμήν between square brackets. In the apparatus we read: "Vs. 5b doxologia lectoris. Cf. Baljon, p. 21, 22" ('Verse 5b is a doxology by a reader ...').

Probably without knowing it, Baljon follows Erasmus, who in the editions of his *Annotationes* from 1519 to 1527 suggests that the whole doxology has been added in more or less the same way as the one to the Lord's Prayer,[103] and in the 1535 edition mentions as a 'frivolous' possibility a 'way of reading' that regards the words ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεός as a parenthetical remark made by someone who was 'as if suddenly carried away'.[104]

1 Cor 6:5 (the annotation 'Qui possit iudicare inter fratrem suum?')

Here the expression ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ is rather strange. Erasmus spots the difficulty and proposes a more elegant translation:

> Ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. As if you would say: 'between a brother'. And how would someone judge between one person? Therefore, it would have been clearer, and better Latin [to write] 'between a brother and a brother', that is, between a Christian and a Christian ...[105]

This annotation does not contain a conjecture on the Greek text, as the remarkable word 'Latinius' ('more Latin') shows, but it is clear that Erasmus is not satisfied with the text as he has it.[106] He is not the only one, and it is not hard to formulate a conjectural emendation on the basis of Erasmus' 'inter fratrem et fratrem'. Such a conjecture can actually be found in Günther Zuntz's discussion of 1 Cor 6:5.[107] A different suggestion, ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν

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[103] See above, p. 117.

[104] 'veluti subito raptu mentis'; see above, p. 118 n. 89.

[105] "Ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, quasi dicas 'in medio fratris'. Et quomodo iudicet aliquis inter unum? Proinde clarius erat ac Latinius 'inter fratrem et fratrem', hoc est 'inter Christianum et Christianum' ..." (ASD VI–8, p. 110 ll. 217–219; from 1519 onwards).

[106] In 1516, his Latin text simply retains the Vulgate rendering 'inter fratrem suum'; later, the translation was changed into 'inter fratrem suum et fratrem', but the Greek text remained unaltered.

[107] Zuntz uses the problem in 1 Cor 6:5 to illustrate the discussion on the boundary between authorial slip of the pen and scribal error. He suggests that the transmitted text of 1 Cor 6:5 διακρῖναι ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ contains an error that goes back to Paul himself, an idea that can be traced to Johannes Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, p. 150: "Es bleibt nur übrig, eine unerhörte Nachlässigkeit des Schreibers anzunehmen oder zu konjizieren, etwa ἀναμέσον τινὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ..." According to Zuntz "[t]he critic must not interfere with the author's ideas; he may correct a slip of the pen" ('Critic', p. 303). He does this by proposing the correction ἀνάμεσον <ἀδελφοῦ καὶ>

ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, can be seen in Beza's way of dealing with the same problem (see below, p. 249). In line with Beza's annotation, many translations obscure the difficulty by rendering 'between his brothers', which presupposes such a Greek text.[108]

τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ (in the 1955 version of his article ('Critic'), p. 303) or ἀνά-μεσον <ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἀνάμεσον> τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ (in the reprint, p. 277 n. 2). The difference between Zuntz's ἀνάμεσον and the ἀνὰ μέσον in modern critical editions is only orthographical. For a recent discussion of the problem, see Jeffrey Kloha, '1 Corinthians 6:5'.

[108] KJV, ASV, NAB, NIV, NASB, NKJV, NJB, *Statenvertaling*. Such renderings actually reflect Beza's annotation. RSV ducks the problem by translating 'the brotherhood'; NRSV ('between one believer and another') reflects Erasmus' annotation and Zuntz's correction.

ERASMUS AND CONJECTURAL EMENDATION:
CONCLUSIONS

Il serait injuste de rejeter sur Érasme la responsabilité du 'tradition-nalisme' de ses successeurs—Jean Hadot[1]

In his Apologies, Erasmus defined and defended one basic point time and again: the right and the need to correct the New Testament text. In this process of emendation, conjectures played a small but interesting role. Some conjectures found their way into the New Testament text, but most were restricted to the *Annotationes*.

Erasmus was always more interested in readings than in manuscripts as a whole. He did not do textual criticism *codicum ope* in the style of Poliziano.[2] In the case of the New Testament, his approach resembles somewhat the present-day local-genealogical method, in its thoroughgoingly eclectic dress: when he knew variant readings, he tried to find the most original one and to explain the origin of the other or others.

Erasmus was aware of the conjectural and hazardous nature of the textual critic's task in general. He described this task as follows:

> I agree that the matter [freeing the Scriptures from error] proceeds by conjecture [coniecturis]—but that cannot be otherwise. Yet, when so many different elements combine—agreement of the Greek manuscripts, the opinion of the early commentators, the oldest Latin manuscripts and the views of the leaders of our faith, the sense itself that fits best into the context—such a conjecture [coniectura] becomes already a much more probable conjecture.[3]

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[1] Hadot, 'Critique textuelle', p. 760.

[2] In Thomson's words, "[Erasmus] failed ... to view the reconstruction of a text as itself a historical enterprise" ('Erasmus', p. 160).

[3] *Apolog. c. Iac. Latomi dialog.*, LB IX, cc. 88 F–89 A: "[sacrae Scripturae libros quam purgatissimos reddere] ... fatemur rem coniecturis agi, sed in qua secus agi non possit. Atqui haec coniectura, cum tam multa concurrunt, puta Graecorum codicum consensus, veteres interpretes, Latinorum vetusti codices,

In this citation 'coniectura' denotes the fact that any conclusion on variant readings is based on the critic's reasoning and his way of arranging the 'evidence'; it does not mean 'conjectural emendation' per se, though it does not exclude it either.[4] Erasmus did not normally use the noun 'coniectura' and the verb 'coniicio' in such a strictly technical sense. Its shades of meaning comprise 'conjecture', 'supposition', 'inference' and 'conclusion', the decisive element of its meaning being the degree of indirectness by which the piece of information that is called 'coniectura' is arrived at.

Erasmus was also aware that some readings are special in that they do not have any support in the manuscripts. In other words, he could make a distinction between emendations *codicum ope* and emendations *ingenii ope*. These two categories can for instance be detected in his comments on the editing of Jerome's letters:

> ... the most difficult thing is either to conjecture [coniicere] from corruptions of different kinds what the author wrote, or to guess [divinare] the original reading on the basis of such fragments and vestiges of the shapes of the script as may survive.[5]

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commentarii principum fidei nostrae, sensus ipse maxime congruens ei loco, iam plusquam probabilis redditur coniectura" (translation after CWE 71, p. 53). The passage continues: "Even if this rule is not foolproof we shall have to cling eagerly to it until our critics can give us a better one. Perhaps they are going to remind us of the resources of the final revelation. I feel quite confident that such a revelation will not be denied to the Christians, if only necessity demands it and our own resources let us down" ("Denique parum valeat haec regula, modo dent ipsi certiorem, eam cupidissime amplectemur. Nisi forsitan ad apocalypseos praesidia nos revocabunt, quam ego satis confido non defuturam Christianis, si modo cogat necessitas, et nostris praesidiis destituamur").

    [4] Cf. Erasmus' remark in *Capita*: "Even if we acknowledge that Greek books are as corrupted as Latin ones, nevertheless the true reading is often detected from a collation of equally corrupted copies, because what happens to be corrupt here, is found intact in another manuscript, or at least a conjecture [coniectura] of the true reading is given by some traces" ("Ut donemus, Graecorum libros aeque depravatos esse ac Latinos, tamen ex collatis exemplaribus aeque depravatis saepe deprehenditur vera lectio: propterea quod saepenumero sit, ut quod hic casu depravandum est, in alio codice reperiatur integrum: aut saltem vestigiis quibusdam datur verae lectionis coniectura"—*Capita*, LB VI, p. ***1ᵛ; p. 76 no. 69 in the 1519 edition; 'propterea' added in 1527, p. B 5ʳ; 'aut saltem ... coniectura' added in 1535, p. β 4ᵛ).

    [5] Ep. 396 (the dedicatory letter to William Warham, Basle, 1 April 1516) ll. 192–195 (EE 396 ll. 177–180: "... longe difficillimum est aut ex varie depravatis quid ab authore positum fuerit coniicere, aut ex qualibuscunque figurarum fragmentis ac vestigiis primam divinare lectionem"). In this citation it would perhaps

If a technical term is used for conjectural emendations, it is 'divinare' ('to conjecture'). Conjectures discussed in the *Annotationes* are in general simply described by giving the text that is proposed, sometimes indeed accompanied by signal words such as 'divinare' or 'suspicari' ('to suspect').[6]

In general, Erasmus may seem to have exhibited a reluctance to make conjectural emendations. He did not even regard it as a valid means of resolving striking differences between the various Gospel accounts. An example of this attitude is found in his annotation on Mark 9:2 ('Et post dies sex'). On the (apparent) contradiction with Luke 9:28, Erasmus writes:

> Luke [9:28] has 'about eight days.' Mark agrees with Matthew [17:1] on the number [of days]. I call attention to this so that no one changes the text rashly. The Doctors explain the difficulty of these matters.[7]

Indeed, such a general reluctance towards conjectural emendation would have been understandable, since Erasmus needed an unassailable Greek text for his two-fold mission. On the one hand, he wanted to bring the biblical text up to his literary standards. For this enterprise he first discovered, then used and finally even needed the Vulgate as the Greek text's obvious adversary, both stylistically (as a translation) and text-critically (as a flawed source). On the other hand, he saw himself as a spiritual reformer, who through his editions of the New Testament and his other contributions in the same field provided access to the pristine sources (or wells) of 'Christ's philosophy' (*philosophia Christi*). Neither cause would have been served by systematic doubt cast on the quality of the Greek text at hand.

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be better to translate 'coniicere' as 'conclude' and 'divinare' as 'conjecture'!

[6] E.g. in the annotations on Rom 4:12 (see above, p. 111); Phil 3:15 (see above, p. 85); 1 Pet 3:20 (see above, p. 129). Cf. the terminology used by Erasmus when introducing his retroversions of Vulgate readings (see above, p. 70).

[7] "Lucas facit dies ferme octo. Marcus consentit cum Matthaeo in numero. Hoc admonui ne quis temere scripturam mutet; difficultatem quaestionum explicant doctores" (ASD VI–5, p. 404 ll. 380–382; from 1516 onwards; 'Hoc ... doctores' added in 1527). Erasmus' annotation on Matt 17:1 ('Et post dies sex') contains the explanation given by Chrysostom (see ASD VI–5, p. 252 ll. 499–504). There is no annotation on Luke 9:28. Erasmus further refers to this text in his long addition from 1519 to the annotation on Mark 8:31 'Post tres dies' (ASD VI–5, p. 402 l. 328).

There may seem to be even more detailed proof of Erasmus' reserve towards conjectural emendation, for he rejected Stunica's conjectures on the Greek text, and used their conjectural nature against them. It should be noted, however, that a clash of interests determined Erasmus' reaction in this case: Stunica's conjectures were part of a strategy by which he tried to defend the Vulgate against Erasmus' critique. Therefore the exchanges with Stunica do not demonstrate that Erasmus rejected conjectural emendation in general.

On other occasions Erasmus actually did not hesitate to propose conjectural solutions to text-critical problems. Not infrequently he tried to solve a textual problem by conjectural emendation, as his *Annotationes* amply testify. This shows that in the end his experience with manuscripts and scribal habits prevailed over his professed reluctance towards conjectural emendation. In general, it can be demonstrated from the *Annotationes* that Erasmus gradually acknowledged that the Greek text he knew could not have the final word on the text of the New Testament.[8]

Several characteristics of these conjectures deserve to be mentioned. They are, of course, not embedded in the understanding of textual criticism that goes by the name of Lachmann. The text itself was normally taken for granted. Only when it presented a difficulty did the entire arsenal of text-critical reasoning and divinatory brilliance come into play. The conjectures were kept within the margins of 'transcriptional probability'. Erasmus was concerned to stay as close as possible to the transmitted Greek text. This reflects of course the way in which such conjectures are made,[9] but it also enabled him to present the transmitted Greek text as the result of a possible or even likely, preferably simple scribal error. Especially the example of his conjecture on Mark 7:3 is instructive in this respect (see above, p. 96).

His overarching concern was the coherence of the text, especially at the level of the sentence or the smaller unit. Not surprisingly, most of the conjectures were aimed at resolving grammatical or philological difficulties. These were most likely to be encountered during his work on the text of the New Testament,

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[8] Cf. also my flow-chart and *Capita*, no. 42 (LB VI, p. ***1ʳ).
[9] Cf. Robin G.M. Nisbet, 'Conjectures'.

which, due to the nature of his enterprise, involved the comparison of the late Vulgate with the Greek text in view of the correction of the former.

Some other incentives for conjectural emendation can be named: historical criticism (various conjectures, notably those made by others he simply transmits) and literary criticism (e.g. Jas 4:2). Erasmus thought as a writer, both in Latin and in Greek[10] (and in some rare instances, in Dutch[11]). Virtually absent are conjectural emendations that are intended to safeguard biblical infallibility, for instance harmonistic conjectures across different Bible books. He even accepted, without much ado, that the evangelists made errors in their narrative. When he was confronted with variant readings, Erasmus' critical acumen made him detect and mistrust harmonising ('easier') readings. When there were no variant readings, he would rather have assumed an error made by the apostle or the evangelist than to indulge in conjectural emendation, especially since for him, in line with Jerome, the existence of such errors did not detract from the value and authority of Scripture. A good example is found in his discussion of Mark 2:26. According to Erasmus, it is perfectly acceptable to suggest that Mark here suffers a memory lapse ('lapsus memoriae') by

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[10] Cf. Erasmus' stay at the Aldine Academy (*Néakadémia*; cf. Jean-Christophe Saladin, *Bataille*, pp. 96–99 and Renaudet, *Érasme*, p. 155) and his exchange of Greek letters with Guillaume Budé (notably EE 1004 and 1011; cf. EE 1439 and 1446).

[11] See the annotation 'Paracletus autem spiritus sanctus' on John 14:26. In a long addition in the 1527 edition, Erasmus wants to show that the real pronunciation of a language can only be found in its daily use, not in grammatical rules ("tota pronunciatio petitur non ex grammaticae regulis, sed ex vulgi consuetudine"—ASD VI–6, p. 142 l. 560). He offers some French examples for the diphthongs οι, αι, αυ and ευ, and adds: "Similarly in our language, I mean Dutch, in [the words] 'hay', 'tough', 'old' and 'lie' " ("Itidem in lingua nostra—Hollandicam dico—in 'foeno', 'tenaci', 'sene', 'mendacio' "—ASD VI–6, p. 142 ll. 568–569). Only a reader acquainted with the Dutch language or equipped with a good dictionary can guess that Erasmus hints at the diphthongs in the words 'hooi', 'taai', 'oud' and 'leugen'. He further indicates the differences in vowel length between the Greek word μῦς and the Dutch word 'muis' ('mouse', spelled μυῖς by Erasmus!), between 'albus' ('wit'—'white') and 'latus' ('wijd', in Erasmus' days still pronounced with a long vowel, not with a diphthong as nowadays—'wide'), between 'solutus' ('los'—'loose') and 'callidus' ('loos', which in Erasmus' days still meant 'cunning') and between 'certus' ('wis'—'sure') and 'sapiens' ('wijs' (cf. 'wijd')—'wise') (ASD VI–6, p. 143 ll. 572–582; my findings largely concur with Hovingh's note in ASD VI–6, p. 143 n.ll. 568–583).

mentioning the high priest Abiathar (cf. 1 Sam 21:1–6).[12] Eras-
mus' view, as we will observe, differed radically from Beza's (see
below, p. 292).

Erasmus did not make dogma-inspired conjectures either. He
was even more likely to do the reverse, as he often explicitly pre-
ferred the (dogmatically) harder reading, for instance the pres-
ence of οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός in Matt 24:36 (see above, p. 42).

He did not present his conjectures as the only possible solu-
tion, but merely as a genuine way to resolve a textual difficulty.
In the *Adagia*, he comments on one of his own conjectures on a
classical text:

> I am well aware what a slippery slope it is and a perilous business,
> to make any change in these eminent authors. All I will do is to put
> forward conjectures [coniecturas] that appeal to me. If anyone
> thinks they fit, he will subscribe to my opinion; if not, he will hold
> to his old view all the more readily because, even when challenged,
> it has won the day.[13]

Most conjectures proposed by others were approached by Eras-
mus open-mindedly, that is, in the same spirit as he wanted his
own work to be appreciated. More often than not, he refrained
from a personal verdict and considered it his task to inform the
learned and let them form their own judgement. There is one
notable exception to this attitude: conjectures on the Greek text
which were clearly intended to safeguard the textual integrity of
the (late) Vulgate were vehemently dismissed. Erasmus' rebuttals

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[12] In the annotation 'Sub Abiathar principe sacerdotum'; see ASD VI–5,
p. 368 ll. 418–430 and n.ll. 421–422. In the second edition, however, the words
'lapsu memoriae, sive' are omitted, even though Erasmus' opinion did not
change. When he followed Dorp's advice to omit mentioning the possible error
made by Mark, he did so "not because I thought that it was said impiously, but
because I wanted to take away a pretext for offence" ("non quod impie dictum
arbitrarer, sed quod maluerim amoliri occasionem offendiculi"—*Resp. ad annot.
Ed. Lei*, ASD IX–4, p. 106 ll. 940–941). Thus pressure from contemporaries
made Erasmus somewhat more circumspect in this case. When his words were
cited in the Valladolid articles, Erasmus became even more circumspect. He
stated explicitly that the opinion that the evangelists made errors of memory is
false, even if it is not impious (*Apolog. adv. monach. hisp.*, LB IX, c. 1071 B).

[13] *Adagia* 536 (I.vi.36): "... quod non ignorem quam lubrica plenaque discri-
minis res sit in tantis autoribus quicquam immutare. Tantum coniecturas, quibus
adducor, in medium adferam. Quae si cui videbuntur idoneae, nostrae subscribet
opinioni, sin minus veterem sententiam hoc iam obtinebit libentius, quod etiam
in dubium vocata vicerit"—ASD II–2, p. 64 ll. 885–889; translation CWE 32,
p. 28.

were mostly correct, and—which is more important—understandable: the text-critical vindication of the Vulgate would have taken away a corner stone of the Erasmian reform project.

I have argued that it is better not to consider as conjectural emendation what Erasmus himself surely felt as straightforward 'marking-up' of the manuscripts that served as printer's copy. Accordingly, the place (or even *Sitz-im-Leben*) of most conjectures is the *Annotationes*, not the printed Greek or Latin text (with some exceptions, most notably Jas 4:2 in the 1519 edition). The real conjectures are found somewhat hidden in a wealth of text-critical commentary, philological (semantic and grammatical) remarks, exegetical information and in fact all kinds of contemporary reflections and polemics that their versatile author was capable of producing. For Erasmus, textual criticism, philology and interpretation were part of a continuum of intense and engaged interaction with the text. Everything worked together to enlighten and sometimes delight the readers, and to challenge them to make their own choices, both in criticism and in life.

In discussing the generally unfavourable judgement of later scholars on Erasmus' editing of the New Testament and other works, Pfeiffer writes:

> We can hardly imagine how difficult it was to explore the world of manuscripts at that time and to make careful collations. Later editors usually complain that Erasmus did not make sufficient use of manuscript readings, but relied too much on conjectures. Few modern scholars have taken the trouble to consider Erasmus' actual intentions and to examine his editing in detail; ...[14]

These chapters, it can be hoped, have given some insight in the latter. Put in the right perspective, Erasmus' text-critical work on the Greek New Testament can be seen as both handicapped and epoch-making. He was handicapped by the lack of manuscripts available to him, although he was more aware of this than many of his critics, both contemporary and modern, are willing to concede. He was also handicapped by his concept of the *Graeca veritas*, which he at least initially sought one-sidedly in the (Byzantine) Greek text.[15] At times he was handicapped as well by his

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[14] Pfeiffer, *History*, p. 78.
[15] Three stages can be distinguished here: 1. a naive trust in the Greek manuscripts and their uniformity; 2. an active defence of the (Byzantine) Greek text

almost proverbial haste and by some lack of knowledge of the finer points of Greek grammar.

He was epoch-making in his text-critical reasoning. Important parts of text-critical theory, notably those concerning internal criticism, can be found *in nuce* in Erasmus' work. Stock examples in modern text-books are anticipated by and sometimes even (indirectly) derived from his *Annotationes*.

It should perhaps be said that Erasmus *might have been* epoch-making in his textual criticism. At first sight, it seems that only his Greek text, which was no more than a mediocre representation of the Byzantine text-type, was there to stay, and that all comments and methods that might put this text in a different perspective were lost. There are historical reasons for this state of affairs, of which we name only two: the increasing focus on orthodoxy and the growing need for a fixed text.

During Erasmus' life-time, he himself initially set the terms of the discussion to which he forced also his critics to react. Later, in the 20's and 30's, the discussion became more and more focussed on or even reduced to an orthodoxy-heresy debate.[16] Thus, the purely humanist impulse in biblical criticism lost momentum.

In the second half of the sixteenth century the biblical text became more fixed than it had ever been. On the Catholic side, strict control was exerted over the biblical text, while on the Protestant side, the increasingly prominent role of the Bible itself discouraged any questioning of its textual integrity. Thus the balance between the large-scale distribution of knowledge and the almost unprecedented stability of text, both factors made possible by the invention of printing, was disturbed in favour of the latter.

In the end, the freshness of Erasmus' text-critical contributions was largely spent. What would later become the handwork of textual critics, the careful collection of data and the intelligent discussion of readings and criteria, was almost forgotten, though never completely lost.

As far as conjectural emendation is concerned, Erasmus showed great skill both in transcriptional and intrinsic reasoning, though the conjectures were ingeniously and sometimes too inge-

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against all possible assaults (cf. the 'depravation theory'); 3. a mostly implicit acknowledgment that the (Byzantine) Greek text has to be critically evaluated.

[16] Cf. Cuthbert Hamilton Turner, *Early Printed Editions*, p. 24.

niously sought within the range of transcriptionally imaginable scribal change. Erasmian conjectural emendation is consistently preceded by an effort to understand the text as it is, and guided by the intention to find the text that best expresses what its author presumably intended.[17] Despite obvious errors of judgement and limitations of method, the *Annotationes* show the basic validity and viability of conjectural emendation applied to the New Testament. At several places of the New Testament, Erasmus was the first to point out textual problems the discussion of which often still goes on.

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[17] If this sounds like an all-too-obvious program for conjectural emendation, its history shows that by far not all conjectures are grounded in the genuine effort to think (and write) *according to the text at hand*.

PART TWO

BEZA

To me it has always been a matter of utmost scrupulousness not to change even a tittle in these holy books out of mere conjecture— Beza[18]

INTRODUCTION:
BEZA AND THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

L'édition de Bèze deviendra et restera pour plusieurs siècles la base
de toutes les Bibles protestantes, le socle solide et de bon aloi sur
lequel on peut s'appuyer pour bâtir à nouveau—Paul-Frédéric
Geisendorf[1]

Part Two investigates Beza's way of doing New Testament conjec-
tural emendation. The present chapter deals with the history of
research on this topic, as well as Beza's five major editions of the
New Testament and their background. His textual criticism in
general, notably the use he made of Greek readings transmitted
by Robert Stephanus and of the famous 'Codex Bezae', will be
discussed in chapter nine. Beza's numerous conjectures themsel-
ves will be the subject of chapters ten and eleven. Chapter twelve
will then draw some conclusions with respect to Beza's view of
the biblical text and the role of conjectural emendation in his
textual criticism.

Beza's editions of the New Testament represent a world which
differs in many respects from the one encountered in Erasmus'
Novum Testamentum and *Annotationes*. Erasmus' Latin transla-
tion was the result of a critical comparison between the Greek
text and the Vulgate; his annotations bear witness to this com-
parison, with all the philological, exegetical and text-critical
aspects it entails. Beza's Latin translation was the result of an
effort to provide a translation better than those of Erasmus and
Sebastian Castellio,[2] one that reflects the 'correct' understanding
of the text and that follows 'correct' rules of translation.[3] Where-

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[1] Geisendorf, *Théodore de Bèze*, p. 71.

[2] Castellio's Latin Bible with annotations was first published in 1551 by
Oporinus (Basle).

[3] See for instance the preface to the 1556 edition, in which Beza explains the
necessity of a new translation and the manner in which he proceeded (*NT* 1556,
pp. Aa.i^v–Aa.ii^v; reprinted in *Correspondance* 2, appendix III; pp. 225–229).

as Erasmus tried to pursue his own project of the 'philosophia Christi', without much success, Beza aimed to provide the definitive translation and interpretation of the New Testament for the Protestant (Calvinist) world, and largely succeeded in doing so.[4]

8.1 THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Beza's critical and editorial activity received very different appreciations, both in his own days and in subsequent centuries. His editions were rejected *en bloque* by his Catholic critics, not only for the decision to reject the Vulgate in favour of a Greek text that they considered to be corrupt, but also because of the one-sided interpretation which permeates his Latin translation,[5] and at times because of some rash emendations which make Beza seem to place his own critical judgement above the authority of the biblical text.[6] Protestant critics, as might be expected, were far

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[4] Beza's Latin translation remained in print until at least 1925 (Berlin, Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae (British and Foreign Bible Society)).

[5] For instance by translating σὺν γυναιξίν in Acts 1:14 as 'cum uxoribus' ('with [their] wives'), Beza makes the biblical text say that the apostles were married (cf. the marginal note in the Rheims New Testament). Another remarkable instance of a one-sided translation deserves to be mentioned as well. At 1 Tim 2:4, Beza translates ὃς πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι as "qui *quosvis* homines vult servari", that is, "[God] who wants that *all sorts of* people are saved" (emphasis added). Beza avoids ascribing to God the will to save 'all people'. Remarkable is not his idea that such a text cannot contradict the doctrine of double predestination, but his decision to put this dogmatic understanding in the translation itself instead of expounding it in the annotations or in a commentary. The notion of predestination is not only read into the text but also written into it. Beza's annotation on these words only attests to his urge to give the text the meaning it must have, while the philological basis for this interpretation is explained elsewhere, in the annotations on Matt 4:23 (πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν), Acts 2:17 (ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα) and 1 Tim 2:1 (where Beza translates ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων as "pro quibusvis hominibus" ("for all sorts of men")); πᾶς can have an indefinite meaning (cf. BDAG s.v.). In line with these remarks, Beza translates παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι in Rom 1:16 as "cuivis credenti" ("for whoever believes"). This aspect of Beza's translation was severely criticised by Castellio, notably in those parts of his *Defensio* which were cut from it by the censors; the passages are cited by Sape van der Woude, 'Censured Passages', esp. pp. 265.277–278.

[6] Beza, because of his influence, is the chief culprit in the introduction to the Rheims New Testament. The translator, Gregory Martin, also published *A Discouerie of the Manifold Corruptions of the holy Scriptures by the Heretikes of our daies, specially the English Sectaries, and of their foule dealing herein, by partial*

more favourable. Beza's first edition already played an important role in the history of the English Bible, for it can be shown to have influenced William Whittingham's Geneva New Testament (1557) and the Geneva Bible (which first appeared 1560) both in the translation and in the marginal notes.[7] Though his translations, interpretations and emendations were not accepted *tout court*,[8] Beza acquired a very high status in Protestant and especially Calvinist circles during his lifetime and in the first generations after him. His Greek text was not contested but faithfully reprinted; through the Elzevir editions it was elevated to the status of 'received text', *textus receptus*.[9] His translation was

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and false translations to the aduantage of their heresies, in their English Bibles vsed and autorised since the time of Schisme, in which, despite its title, especially Beza is accused of tampering with the text of the New Testament by theologically biased translations and conjectural emendations. For the sake of polemics, some accusations are exaggerated, for instance when Martin states that Beza acts "against the real presence of Christ's bloud in the B. Sacrament" when he wants to strike the words τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον in Luke 22:20 (*Discouerie*, pp. a v[v] and b v[v]; cf. pp. 14–17.261); as we will see, the problem observed by Beza is not theological but purely grammatical (see below, p. 256).

[7] See Metzger, 'Geneva Bible', p. 345 and 'Geneva Version', pp. 138–139. The Geneva New Testament was revised by Laurence Tomson in 1576, whose edition even in its title claims to be a direct translation of Beza's Latin version. According to Backus, "both Geneva 1560 and Tomson's 1576 N.T. were influenced by Beza primarily in their doctrine" (*Reformed Roots*, p. xvii); actually, the 1560 edition draws on Beza's 1556 New Testament mainly for the marginal notes, more often than not following Whittingham's 1557 New Testament, whereas the 1576 revision follows Beza's 1565 edition (mainly through L'Oiseleur's 1574 edition) in marginal notes and sometimes in the translation (see Backus, *Reformed Roots*, pp. 13–28 and Daniell, *The Bible in English*, pp. 352–356).

[8] Cf. Scrivener's remarks on the translators of the KJV New Testament (*Authorized Edition*, p. 60): "Doubtless they rested mainly on the later editions of Beza's Greek Testament ... On certain occasions, it may be, the Translators yielded too much to Beza's somewhat arbitrary decisions; but they lived at a time when his name was the very highest among Reformed theologians, when means for arriving at an independent judgment were few and scattered, and when the first principles of textual criticism had yet to be gathered from a long process of painful induction. His most obvious and glaring errors their good sense easily enabled them to avoid." For Protestant criticism of Beza's translation Martinus Laurman ('Beza's kritiek', pp. 218–219) refers to John Bois, *Veteris interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus collatio in quattuor Evangeliis et apostolorum Actis. In qua annon saepius absque iusta satis causa hi ab illo discesserint disquiritur* (London, 1655).

[9] Beza's status as a scholar and as the successor to Calvin is more important than the exact text form of the Elzevir editions; since Mill, Bengel and especially Wettstein it is generally known that the learned editor took Stephanus' third edition as his point of departure, and used Beza's editions for its emendation at a

widely used and in many respects normative for the correct understanding of the text. Grotius and others often supported the emendations Beza had with critical acumen proposed in his annotations, and when they did not agree, they at least took Beza's discussion as a valid point of departure for their own discussions. This favourable reception was to change, almost for good, with Mill and Wettstein,[10] who through their systematic studies of the Greek sources of the New Testament could show that Beza's emendations, both *codicum* and *ingenii ope*, had not been based on a sound and consistent text-critical method. Some of Beza's conjectural emendations, however, were not forgotten and could still meet with approval,[11] though they were sometimes used less for their intrinsic qualities than for the fact that their very existence bestowed some respectability on the practice of conjectural emendation as such.[12] Subsequently, when the *Textus Receptus* had come more and more under fire, Beza's contributions were viewed as a stage to be overcome or even forgotten.[13] Since Wettstein, moreover, Beza's textual criticism has hardly ever been the subject of any serious study, neither in the nineteenth century[14]

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number of places.

[10] Wettstein, *Prolegomena*, p. 145 (and *NTG* 1, p. 147). In his *NTG* Wettstein mentions Beza often, but seldom favourably.

[11] E.g. Johann Leonhard Hug, in 1826: "Beza hatte das Loos, oft sehr gelobt und sehr getadelt zu werden; beydes mit gleichem Grunde. Seine Emendationen sind oft sinnreich; aber die Hülfsmittel zu einem solchen Unternehmen waren zu mangelhaft, und man hatte noch keine Grundsätze zu ihrem Gebrauche" (*Einleitung*, 1, p. 324).

[12] Valckenaer, 'De Critica emendatrice', p. 314.

[13] Cf. Laurman, 'Beza's Kritiek', p. 223.

[14] A noteworthy exception is Laurman's 1840 article 'Over Theodorus Beza's Kritiek van het N. Testament' ('On Theodorus Beza's Criticism of the New Testament'). Laurman, a minister of the Reformed Church in Oosterlittens, reacts to detractors of Beza such as Wettstein, Leonhard Bertholdt and Hug (pp. 221–226). He thereby indirectly defends the Dutch printing-house of the Elzevirs against Hug's accusation that the *Textus Receptus* is a text of businessmen only (Hug, *Einleitung*, 1, p. 330; cf. Aland and Aland's reference to "a combination of competent printing, a pleasing format and skillful marketing" with regard to the Elzevir editions of the Greek New Testament—*Text*, p. 6). Laurman insists on not judging Beza's editions according to nineteenth-century standards (pp. 218.242.244.258) and praises Beza for giving his judgment also in difficult matters (pp. 237.239.247.252). He tries to demonstrate "that Beza's emendations and conjectures were full of wisdom and intelligence, and far superior to the knowledge of his contemporaries" ("... dat Beza's emendatien en conjecturen vol van wijsheid en vernuft waren, en verre verheven boven de kennis zijner tijdgenooten"—pp. 250–251).

nor in the twentieth.[15] All that remains, nowadays, are a few traces of Bezan conjectures, transmitted mainly by the Dutch School, even fewer of which are given the rank of permanent footnotes to the Greek text of the New Testament through the Nestle editions.

In short, critics have dealt with Beza's conjectures in a way similar to Erasmus'. Beza's editions were often consulted for interesting instances. Many conjectures found their way into Wettstein's apparatus and Bowyer's collection. As long as these two sources remained in use, the conjectures were transmitted in the nineteenth-century collections and discussion in the Netherlands. Ultimately, a few Bezan conjectures came to be mentioned in Nestle's standard editions and in Metzger's *Textual Commentary*. The following stemma of the scholarly transmission of Beza's conjectures, tentative and partial though it may be, shows that

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[15] A curious contribution is a relatively recent article by Theodore Letis, 'Theodore Beza as Text Critic. A View into the 16th Century Approach to New Testament Text Criticism' (1987), in which the author attempts to reconstruct Beza's text-critical method without once referring to a single annotation by Beza. According to Letis, critics such as Erasmus and Beza were well informed on Greek manuscripts (pp. 122–123.134–136) and therefore "had an option" of which Greek text to adopt (pp. 134–136). He concludes that they deliberately adopted the text represented in the majority of the manuscripts (p. 136). However, his statement that sixteenth-century editors by knowing about variant readings "had an option" obscures the fact that none of them had a grasp of the historical problems that lie behind their existence; they simply did not have the means to attempt an actual reconstruction of the entire transmission of the New Testament text. Therefore, what Letis helds to be adherence to some kind of majority principle was actually no more than the default option. Or would he want to suggest that Erasmus' alternative was the adoption of the Greek text reflected by the Vulgate? When he for instance mentions Erasmus' dismissal of Codex Vaticanus (pp. 134–135), he keeps silent about Erasmus' prejudice against Greek manuscript that agree with the Vulgate. Moreover, strikingly absent from Letis's article is information on the way Erasmus actually distanced himself from the Greek text of his editions or on the subtle text-critical reasoning often applied in the *Annotationes*. His presentation also flies in the face of what was actually done by Erasmus and Beza. Erasmus had the Greek text printed from manuscripts that happened to be available in Basle, whereas Beza for the most part took over Stephanus' (Erasmian) text, which already functioned as a 'received' text for him. Finally, Letis does not observe that the changes actually made by Beza point towards a prominence of internal criticism, not external criticism. In sum, he anachronistically projects back on Erasmus and Beza the convictions held by himself, to wit belief in a New Testament text which has been providentially preserved in the majority of the manuscripts and which a textual critic should deliberately adopt while refraining from modern, subjective and ever-changing methods. Letis's article however is to be recommended for the wealth of secondary literature that is cited.

Beza [1]1556-[5]1598

1600

Cambridge edition 1642

1700

Wettstein 1751-52 ——————→ Bowyer [1]1763-[4]1812
                                    Schulz 1774-75

1800

van Manen 1880   van de Sande Bakhuyzen 1880

Baljon 1885-1898   1900

[P.W. Schmiedel]

Eb. and Erw. Nestle [11]1920-...
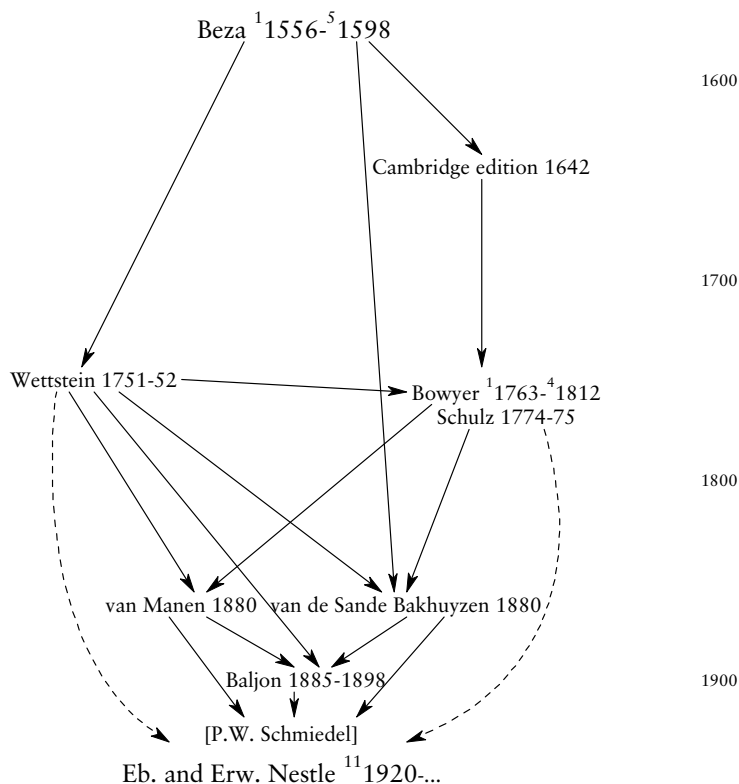
just as in Erasmus' case the conjectures went through many hands before reaching the twentieth century.[16] Complicating the picture

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[16] Wettstein: *NTG*; Bowyer: *Critical Conjectures*; Schulz: *Konjecturen*; van Manen: *Conjecturaal-kritiek*; van de Sande Bakhuyzen: *Over de toepassing*; Baljon: *Tekst*, various articles and *NTG*. Other monographs of the Dutch School could be mentioned as well (Herman Franssen, *Beoordeeling*; van der Beke Callenfels, *Beoordeeling*; Salomon Siewerd de Koe, *Conjecturaal-critiek*), but for Beza's conjectures these authors mainly depend on the collections made by van Manen and van de Sande Bakhuyzen, whose information in turn is derived mostly from Bowyer and Wettstein. Only van de Sande Bakhuyzen consulted Beza's own annotations at some places. Schmiedel's name is mentioned in the stemma as the most important advisor of Eberhard and Erwin Nestle, especially with regard to the conjectures mentioned in the Nestle editions. Schmiedel's role is mentioned by Erwin Nestle in N[13], p. 8*. Moreover, comparison of Schmiedel's commentary on Corinthians and Thessalonians (*Thessalonicher und Korinther*) with the conjectures mentioned in the Nestle editions leads to a strong impression of dependency: of the many conjectures discussed by Schmiedel, only those he approves of are generally recorded in 'Nestle'.

is the fact that Beza produced five editions between 1556 and 1598; in these editions he himself took part in the transmission of conjectures proposed by others, including those of Erasmus.[17]

The stemma shows that the problems inherent to the transmission of conjectures can easily be underestimated. Not surprisingly, information on Bezan conjectures found in modern editions or commentaries is not always correct.[18] Beza himself also takes part in the transmission of conjectures. Here too, several difficulties should be mentioned.

For two reasons, critics rarely consult Beza's editions nowadays. First, they are not readily accessible. There are no translations into modern languages; there is no critical edition, nor even a facsimile edition; as a result, there are hardly any discussions of Beza's New Testament scholarship that go further than scratching the surface. Second, modern New Testament scholarship suffers from amnesia in this matter. While the manuscript transmission of the New Testament text is studied with remarkable care and attention, the vicissitudes in the transmission of the critical conjectures are almost entirely neglected and mostly forgotten. A consequence is a failure to ask whether a particular conjecture has been attributed to its actual originator (*Urheber*) or, alternatively, whether the supposed originator actually made the proposal attributed to him and not some other. Such has been the fate of Beza's conjectures as well. As a further consequence, many conjectures, including those of Beza, have been reduced to what

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[17] Beza accepts Erasmus' conjecture on Jas 4:2; he transmits Erasmus' conjectures on Rom 4:12 without naming Erasmus (see my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation', pp. 123–125). He also mentions Joachim Camerarius' well-known conjecture on John 19:29 (from 1582 onwards). While Camerarius proposes to read ὑσσῷ προπεριθέντες instead of ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες (see *Notatio*, pp. 297–298), Beza is the first to reduce the conjecture to ὑσσῷ περιθέντες (thus ὑσσῷ instead of ὑσσώπῳ); since then, the conjecture is known in these two forms.

[18] In the Nestle editions, ten Bezan conjectures are mentioned. For a critical discussion of these conjectures and their transmission, see my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation'. As a small addition, the Nestle editions in which Beza's name is first mentioned are listed here: Matt 8:30 (οὐ μακράν) N[12] (1923); Mark 10:46 (*om* ὁ υἱὸς Τιμάιου) N[15] (1932); Mark 14:36, Rom 8:15 and Gal 4:6 (*om* ὁ πατήρ) N[11] (1920); Luke 9:53 (πορευομένου) N[12]; Acts 6:9 (Λιβυστίνων) N[20] (1950; in N[13–19] Gothofred (Jacques Godefroy) is mentioned; before that, the conjecture was given without an author's name); Acts 8:26 (*om* αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος) N[13] (1927); Rom 4:12 (*om* τοῖς before στοιχοῦσιν) N[13]; 2 Tim 4:20 (Μελίτη) N[13].

they are not, nor should be: mere variant readings. This reduction of conjectures to variant readings leaves the reader guessing at 'the reasons on which they are grounded' (Bowyer). The argumentation used to support them, to the extent that it is known, went through many minds and hands before reaching us today. These chapters on Beza represent an effort to go back to the sources of his conjectures, his own editions of the New Testament. This return also makes it possible to look at his conjectures as part of his larger approach to the text of the New Testament.

If Beza's editions are consulted nowadays, scholars often limit themselves to the last edition that appeared during his lifetime (1598) or to the 1642 Cambridge re-edition to which Camerarius' commentaries are added. However, as we will see, some conjectures were present only in his earliest editions. Others made a short appearance in one edition only. Yet others were introduced as late as in his last edition. Moreover, additions and deletions over the years offer important clues to his intentions. Only the consultation of all five major editions, therefore, allows us to detect the internal developments in his attitude towards conjectural emendation over the years.

8.2 BEZA'S FIVE MAJOR EDITIONS

Beza published five major (or folio) editions of his New Testament, in 1556 (1557), 1565, 1582, 1589 and 1598. The first, finished in 1556 and published in 1557, is the New Testament part of Robert Stephanus' last Bible project.[19] It contains Stephanus' Vulgate text and Beza's new translation with annotations. It does not contain a Greek text. The second edition of Beza's New Testament was printed in 1565 by Henri Stephanus, Robert's son. It contained a Greek text, the Vulgate, and Beza's revised translation and annotations. The same format was used in two further, revised, editions, printed by Henri Stephanus in 1582 and 1589, and in Beza's last folio edition, printed by Vignon in 1598. By then, Beza was almost eighty. Besides these major editions, five

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[19] See Elisabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, pp. 232–233. In these chapters on Beza the New Testament part of Stephanus' 1557 Bible is designated as the 1556 edition, following its preface and separate title page.

minor diglot editions were put on the market during his lifetime.[20]

Beza wrote two types of annotations: the *Annotationes maiores* which accompany the folio editions[21] and which expound on all kinds of exegetical, text-critical and translational difficulties and the *Annotationes minores* which contain doctrinal summaries of the texts they comment upon and which accompany the octavo editions.[22] For the present investigation only the *Annotationes maiores* are important, for only these contain the results of his text-critical activity. They are our major source for the study of Bezan conjectures, just as the annotations of Erasmus were the major source for the study of his conjectures. Only a limited number of Beza's conjectures were adopted into the Latin translation and an even smaller number into the Greek text. The annotations are virtually our only source for his reflections on the text-critical problems of the Greek New Testament.[23]

There are some problems with the numbering of Beza's major editions. Beza himself considered the 1556 edition as his first,[24] but posterity did not always follow his own numbering, which resulted in considerable confusion.[25] The reason to diverge from

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[20] In 1565, 1567 and 1580 published by Henri Stephanus; in 1590 and 1604 by Vignon (though the name of the printing house is not mentioned).

[21] The *Annotationes maiores* were also published separately in 1594–1595.

[22] The two types come together only in the fifth edition (1598), both retaining their usual place: the major annotations at the bottom of the page, the minor annotations in the margin alongside the text.

[23] Though it is vital for the understanding of his scholarly network, Beza's correspondence is of very limited concern for the text-critical aspects of his work. Only very few letters have any bearing on textual criticism at all (see below, p. 208). In the exchange with Castellio, textual criticism is hardly touched upon either.

[24] Thus, for instance, in the preface of his last edition, he speaks of "this fifth edition of this work" ("in hac quinta huius operis editione").

[25] See especially Ezra Abbot, *Notes*, pp. 48–50. In *Bibelsammlung* I–3, p. 47, we read on Beza's 1565 edition (no. C 93): "Der Titel benennt diese Ausgabe als die zweite, bezogen auf die von 1559/1560 [the Barbirius–Courteau edition]. Die Wissenschaft bezeichnet sie weithin—z. B. Darlow and Moule, Reuss—als die erste, indem sie nicht wie Beza seine Übersetzung und deren Kommentar, welche erstmals in der lateinischen Bibel Alten und Neuen Testaments, Genf 1557, erschienen sind und außerdem schon danach in der im griechischen Text nicht von Beza verantworteten und darum in seiner Zählung von ihm auch nicht gemeinten Ausgabe 1559/1560, miteinbezieht [why then mention it above?], sondern nur die grundlegende Beza'sche Arbeit am griechischen Text wertet." These words are characteristic for a view in which only an edited Greek text

Beza's numbering was the absence of a Greek text in his first edition.[26] Therefore his second edition was sometimes named 'first', and so on.[27] Even more confusion originated from the fact that the first edition in which his Latin translation and annotations are accompanied by a Greek text, the Barbirius–Courteau edition of 1559/1560, was not authorised.[28] In these chapters we will simply follow Beza's own numbering.

The tendency to focus on the editions that contain a Greek text betrays a shift of interest which risks giving a distorted image of Beza's work and intentions. His main concern was his Latin translation, which he reviewed for each edition, and then also more systematically than Erasmus did his. The Latin translation is the focus of the edition, its main means of communication. The Vulgate is printed to point out what has been corrected, and if the Greek is printed in later editions, its aim is to show the sound basis of the new translation in the original text. There is yet another, somewhat hidden element: Beza's translation takes issue with Erasmus'.[29]

The annotations, almost as important as the translation, elucidate the relation between the diverse forms of the scriptural text. As in the case of Erasmus' annotations, Beza's annotations are

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counts, while even modern notions of editorial practice are projected back onto what Beza must have done. The misinformed idea on the Barbirius-Courteau edition is repeated in the comments on Beza's third edition: "Darlow und Moule zählen die Ausgabe von 1559/60 nicht als erste und heißen so diese hier die zweite etc." (*Bibelsammlung* I–3, p. 61; no. C 127).

[26] Sometimes an edition of 1576 is ascribed to Beza (e.g. Hug, *Einleitung* 1, p. 325; see also Abbot, *Notes*, p. 48). It can be surmised that it was included in the list of Beza's editions in order to have a second edition once the 1565 edition was tacitly assumed to be Beza's first and the 1582 edition correctly recognised as his third. The 1576 edition actually concerns Henri Stephanus' first Greek New Testament; as its text is largely Bezan in character, Eduardus Reuss speaks of a 'pseudo-Bezan' edition (*Bibliotheca*, p. 90; cf. Herman C. Hoskier, *Full Account*, App. B, p. 2).

[27] E.g. Hug, *Einleitung* I, p. 325; Darlow–Moule, *Catalogue*, 2, p. 591; cf. Scrivener, *Adversaria*, pp. xcviii–xcix.

[28] E.g. Reuss, *Bibliotheca*, p. 85. On Robert Stephanus and the pirated edition, see Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, pp. 239–247 and Beza, *Correspondance* 2, p. 204 n. 1. Even more confusing is Scrivener's mention of a 1556 Greek text, which he regards as negligible since it is nearly identical to Stephanus' fourth of 1551 (Scrivener, *Authorized Edition*, p. 248 n. 1).

[29] If Beza's second edition (1565) is compared to Stephanus' fourth edition of the Greek NT (1551), it is clear that Beza's translation actually replaces Erasmus'.

presented by him as "annotations in which the reasons for the translation are given".[30]

The Greek text itself as the object of editorial activity was of far less concern to Beza. Moreover, even for those who want to single out his involvement with the Greek text of the New Testament, the absence of such a Greek text from the 1556 edition should not be sufficient reason to put it aside. Even in that first edition, the Greek is cited in all annotations as part of the lemma, and a great many variant readings are discussed or at least glossed. Many decisions on the Greek text were taken by Beza in the preparation of this edition. A somewhat revised Stephanic Greek text can be regarded as being invisibly part of Beza's first edition, standing behind both the translation and the annotations. Therefore the first edition is just as important as the other ones for the study of his activity as a textual critic. In conclusion there are no reasons at all not to follow his own designations of the various editions.[31]

The origin of Beza's New Testament as a Latin translation made from the Greek, sometimes after careful reflection on the Greek text and its integrity, also explains some remarkable incon-

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[30] "Annotationes in quibus ratio interpretationis redditur" (the heading of the annotations). The centrality of Beza's own translation is further confirmed by the fact that the annotations are keyed to this translation, and not to either the Vulgate, as in the case of Erasmus' *Annotationes*, or the Greek text. However after the lemma of the annotations, which consists of words quoted from the translation, almost always their Greek counterpart is given. This practice was introduced in the first edition (1556); there, it conveyed the message that even though the complete Greek text of the New Testament was not included, such a text invariably stood behind the translation. The practice was maintained in later editions, even though then the full Greek text was actually included.

[31] As a small but revelatory consequence of the concentration on editions with a Greek text, Metzger's analysis of some particular marginal readings in the 1560 Geneva Bible may be mentioned. Some of these readings already occur in Whittingham's 1557 New Testament. As Metzger concentrates on the 1559 diglot (which does not count for Beza himself) and ignores the 1556 edition altogether, he has to write: "We must assume that Beza made this information available to Whittingham prior to the publication of the latter's New Testament in 1557" ('Geneva Version', p. 143). It can however be safely surmised that Whittingham simply consulted Beza's first edition of 1556, in which the four readings under discussion can already be found (John 8:59; Acts 14:18.19; 1 Cor 15:55).

sistencies between the Latin translation and the Greek text.[32] In the preparation of the 1565 edition it was decided to put his (revised) Latin translation together with the underlying Greek text.[33] Though this would not seem difficult to do, as Beza only very rarely diverges from Stephanus' fourth edition, its implementation was not perfect.

The table on the following page presents the most important sixteenth-century editions of the Greek New Testament, and some of the Vulgate, in order to show the genealogical connections of Beza's editions. Beza's most important sources are indicated as well.

8.3 BEZA'S SOURCES

For the first edition of his Latin translation (1556) Beza already probably used Stephanus' fourth edition (1551), in which he found the Greek text, Erasmus' translation and the Vulgate conveniently together. For his annotations, he made use of the writings of many classical and patristic authors,[34] but text-critically the most important source are the collations of Greek manuscripts which were also used for the marginal apparatus of Stephanus' celebrated third edition (1550).

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[32] Examples of such incongruities are numerous. At 1 Cor 15:31 Beza's translation and annotation suppose ὑμετέραν, but Stephanus' reading ἡμετέραν was printed in 1565; it was corrected only in 1582. Similar instances are 2 Cor 7:16 (χαίρω οὖν for χαίρω; only in the translation; corrected in 1582) and Eph 1:3 (ἐν Χριστῷ for Χριστῷ; corrected in 1582). At Phil 2:24 Beza's translation in all editions reflects the addition of πρὸς ὑμᾶς, but the reading itself is adopted only in 1582, without an annotation. At Mark 12:20 the reading οὖν, supposed by the translation and annotation in all editions, was adopted only in 1589. Beza's reading of choice in 1 Cor 14:10 (οὐδὲν ἄφωνον instead of οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἄφωνον) was never adopted into the Greek text. Something similar can be seen at 2 Cor 3:1: in 1582 Beza opted for the reading ἢ μὴ χρῄζομεν in his annotation (instead of εἰ μὴ χρῄζομεν printed in 1565), but this reading reached both his translation and his Greek text only in the next edition of 1589. For Luke 3:36, where the words τοῦ Καϊνάν were retained in the Greek text but omitted in the Latin translation, see below, p. 295.

[33] In this sense, the 1565 edition can be seen as Henri Stephanus' revision of his father's fourth edition (1551), with Beza's translation taking the place of Erasmus'.

[34] See Backus, *Reformed Roots*, pp. 8–13. Backus underlines the connection with Erasmus on this point.

1510

1520

1530

1540

1550

1560

1570

1580

1590

1600

1610

1620

1630

Erasmus NT [lat/gr] I (1516)

Erasmus NT [lat/gr] II (1519)

Erasmus NT [lat/gr] III (1522)

Erasmus NT [lat/gr/vg] IV (1527)

Erasmus NT [lat/gr] V (1535)

Compl. Polyglot Bible [NT: vg/gr] (NT 1514-1520)

R. Stephanus Bible [vg] I (1528)

R. Stephanus Bible [vg] II (1532)

R. Stephanus Bible [vg] III (1540)

R. Stephanus Bible [vg] IV (1546)

R. Stephanus NT [gr] I (1546)

R. Stephanus NT [gr] II (1549)

R. Stephanus NT [gr/app] III (1550)

R. Stephanus NT [lat^{Er}/gr/vg] IV (1551)

R. Stephanus Bible [lat (NT: Beza)/vg] V (1556-57)

Codex Bezae

Codex Claromontanus

Beza NT [lat/gr/vg] II (1565)

Tremellius NT [syr] (1569)

H. Stephanus NT [gr] I (1576)

Beza NT [lat/gr/vg] III (1582)

P. Junius Acts/Cor [arab] (1578)

Camerarius

Piscator

Beza NT [lat/gr/vg] IV (1588/89)

Beza NT [lat/gr/vg] V (1598)

Elzevir NT [gr] I (1624)

Elzevir NT [gr] II (1633)

Besides these manuscripts, Beza's use of which will be discussed in the next chapter, he sometimes refers to the Greek text of 'Froben's edition', that is, an edition of Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum* (either the 1535 edition or volume VI of the 1540 *Opera omnia*) and to 'Greek scholia', that is, Bernardus Donatus' 1532 edition of what is nowadays known as *Catenae*, strings of com-

mentary by Byzantine exegetes.[35] Beza occasionally mentions readings found in Erasmus' *Annotationes* or in other writings.[36]

For his editions from 1582 onwards, Beza made use of ancient translations, by means of editions prepared by Immanuel Tremellius (for the Syriac)[37] and Franciscus Junius (for the Arabic).[38] The revision of the annotations (and to a lesser extent the Latin translation, and to an even lesser extent the Greek text) for the 1582 edition seems to have been done while Beza had Tremellius's edition constantly before his eyes: in almost every instance where textual variation is mentioned, the testimony of the Syriac is added.[39] According to Beza, the Syriac is 'worthy of the highest authority'.[40]

Beza was part of a rather large scholarly network, not only at the institutions in Lausanne and Geneva where he taught,[41] but also through his correspondence. This network also played an important role with regard to his New Testament editions. He wanted Calvin's support for his New Testament;[42] he sought Joa-

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[35] For the title, see the bibliography; Beza also derived information on Arethas's text of Revelation from this edition.

[36] E.g. at Rom 14:2 Beza prefers ὃς δὲ ἀσθενῶν (instead of ὁ δὲ ἀσθενῶν); he could know of attestation for this reading only through Erasmus' annotations.

[37] Tremellius's magnificent edition (published in 1569 by Henri Stephanus) contains the Greek and the Syriac text of the New Testament (actually the Peshitta in Hebrew characters) each accompanied by a Latin translation. The Greek text is probably from Beza's 1565 edition, with some small changes; the Latin translation (of the Greek) is Beza's.

[38] Junius (François du Jon) published Acts and 1 and 2 Corinthians, with notes. His editions do not contain the Arabic text, but only his own Latin translations. For the titles, see the bibliography. There is some confusion on the place where Junius's two small books were published: Adams (*Catalogue*) indicates Lyons, and Backus (*Reformed Roots*, pp. 35 n. 6 and p. 204) indicates Leyde. Both places are based on the word 'Lugdunensem' (in 'apud Iohannem Mareschallum Lugdunensem') on the title page; it should be Heidelberg; Jean Mareschal was a Lyons printer who settled in Heidelberg probably after 1572.

[39] Thus Metzger's remark that "Beza seems ... to have been the first scholar to collate the Syriac New Testament" (*Text*, p. 105) is imprecise; the impression conveyed by Beza's annotations is that he consulted Tremellius's edition in order to enhance his annotations, not to write new ones. Cf. Wettstein, *NTG* 1, p. 147.

[40] 'maximae merito auctoritatis' (in the 1582 annotation on Luke 22:17). At John 11:1, Beza prefers the Peshitta reading (from 1582 onwards).

[41] For an impression, see Bernard Roussel on 'les professeurs genevois' (in Bedouelle and Roussel, *Réformes et Bible*, pp. 270–271).

[42] *Correspondance* 1, p. 170 (no. 64) and 1556, preface, p. AA.ii^v (*Correspondance* 2, p. 228); cf. *Correspondance* 2, pp. 72–73 (no. 97); this letter to

chim Camerarius's advice on the evaluation of variant readings, probably even on 'Codex Bezae';[43] he asked and received from Pierre Pithou the loan of an old manuscript, probably Codex Claromontanus;[44] he discussed a conjecture on 1 Cor 11:10 with Patricius Junius;[45] he asked suggestions and corrections from

Calvin with its renewed demand for assistance makes it likely that Calvin did not actually contribute to Beza's first edition. Calvin's influence is also mentioned in the preface to his last edition. In all editions, Calvin is regularly referred to in the annotations; he is invariably designated as the 'most learned commentator' ('doctissimus interpres').

[43] *Correspondance* 9, pp. 134–135 (no. 630) gives Camerarius's answer (Beza's letter to Camerarius has been lost) "about what you write on the passages in a certain old book [manuscript] which differ from the editions that are common and esteemed, in some books of Holy Scripture ..." ("[q]uod scribis de discrepantibus in quodam veteri libro locis ἀπὸ τῶν καθημαξευμένων καὶ δοκιμασθεισῶν ἐκδόσεων ἐν τοῖς ἱερᾶς γραφῆς βιβλίοις τίσιν"—p. 134). For the conjecture that Beza's question actually concerns 'Codex Bezae', see *Correspondance* 11, p. 63 (no. 743) and p. 64 n. 10. Camerarius is also named occasionally in the annotations, e.g. on John 19:29, when Beza discusses his well-known conjecture (from 1582 onwards).

[44] *Correspondance* 13, p. 47 (no. 894) and p. 133 (no. 922).

[45] In 1579, Patricius Junius wrote a letter to Beza (*Correspondance* 20, pp. 242–243; no. 1385) in which he mentions his conjecture τοὺς ἀνθρώπους for the difficult reading τοὺς ἀγγέλους in 1 Cor 11:10. The key sentence in his letter is: "And so I think that the apostle wrote ἀν̅ούς or even ἀγ̅ούς, what the copyists, misled by the contraction read as ἀγ̅ούς or ἀν̅ούς, that is ἀγγέλους, which does not make sense at all" ("Atque ita scriptum fuisse ab apostolo existimo ἀν̅ούς vel sic ἀγ̅ούς, quod librarii compendio scribendi decepti ἀγ̅ούς vel ἀν̅ούς hoc est ἀγγέλους legerunt, nullo sensu"—p. 243). The editors of Beza's correspondence, Alain Dufour, Béatrice Nicollier and Reinhard Bodenmann, note that Beza in his annotations "relève la difficulté de l'expression, et dit que le texte aurait été plus clair s'il y avait 'saltem propter angelos', ou quelque chose d'équivalent" (p. 245 n. 11); this is correct, but not their addition that these remarks by Beza are introduced in the 1582 edition. They occur already in 1565, and therefore cannot reflect Beza's reaction to Junius's conjecture. The latter is not mentioned in Beza's later editions, though his annotation underwent some changes. He reacts to Junius in a letter from March 1580 (*Correspondance* 21, pp. 72–73; no. 1408), in which he remarks that he does not agree with the conjecture, for at least in this context Paul would have written ἄνδρας, not ἀνθρώπους. In the transcription of Junius's letter, the editors consistently write τοίς [sic] instead of τούς, etc., probably misled by the sixteenth-century Greek handwriting and printing. The ligatures and contractions are not very well represented either. The letter is also printed in P. Hume Brown, *John Knox. A Biography*, London, Black, 1895, 2, pp. 322–324 (appendix G); there, τούς etc. is correct. In Beza's answer the correct τούς etc. is printed, but also ἄνθρωπους (p. 73) which in this case should be ἄνθρωποι, not only because of the accent but also because of Beza's habit of declining the Greek nouns he mentions according to the grammatical function they have in his own Latin discourse (cf. the preceding words 'γυναῖκες et'). The error perhaps goes back to the seventeenth-century copy on which the editors base their

various scholars, for instance Johannes Grynaeus[46] and Girolamo
Zanchi.[47] He received a long letter with comments on his New
Testament from the Greek Orthodox abbot Meletius Pigas.[48] In
the preface to the fourth edition, Johannes Piscator and Johannes
Drusius are mentioned,[49] and in the fifth Piscator is mentioned
once again, together with Tussanus Berchetus.[50] In the annota-
tions, we find references to Beza's colleagues Cornelius Bertram,[51]
Matthaeus Beroaldus[52] and Isaac Casaubon.[53]

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transcription; it should nevertheless have been corrected.

[46] *Correspondance* 21, p. 235 (no. 1445).

[47] *Correspondance* 21, pp. 214–215 (no. 1441); for Zanchi's answer, see
Correspondance 22, p. 69 (no. 1469).

[48] *Correspondance* 24, pp. 387–391 (no. 1483$^{\text{bis}}$). See below, p. 253 n. 31.

[49] NT 1589, p. vi$^{\text{v}}$. Especially Piscator's role is important. Beza describes how
he went through the entire third edition, making critical comments; wherever
these made Beza revise his annotation or add something, an asterisk was added
in the margin of the new edition. Such asterisks are indeed rather frequent.
Drusius is mentioned in the annotation on 'Boanerges' (Mark 3:17).

[50] NT 1598, the second of two pages that are not numbered.

[51] Bertram is mentioned in the annotation on Acts 7:14 (from 1582 onwards;
see below, p. 288).

[52] Beroaldus is mentioned in the annotation on Acts 13:20 (from 1582
onwards).

[53] Casaubon is mentioned in the annotation on Mark 5:38 (in 1598 only).

BEZA AS EDITOR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

... enfin son Commentaire est tout autre chose qu'un ouvrage de critique—Samuel Berger[1]

When the Greek text was incorporated into Beza's second edition of 1565, Stephanus' fourth edition of 1551 was used. The Greek text was changed according to the decisions Beza had taken during the preparation of his first edition, though not consistently.[2] In order to have a background against which to place Beza's involvement in conjectural emendation, Beza's use of manuscripts and the characteristics of his editorial changes will be analysed briefly in this chapter. Beza's view and use of the famous 'Codex Bezae' will also be discussed.

9.1 THE USE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE EDITIONS OF 1556 AND 1565

Though his editions have no critical apparatus, not even a rudimentary one, Beza regularly mentions manuscript readings in his annotations, the sources for which are relatively easy to identify. When manuscripts are cited individually, Beza refers to them, at least in a large part of his first edition, with ordinal numbers. These numbers generally coincide with the Greek numbers used as sigla in the marginal apparatus of Stephanus' third edition, and in most cases the information provided by Beza agrees exactly with Stephanus' critical apparatus.[3] This obvious connection be

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[1] Berger, *La Bible au seizième siècle*, p. 134.

[2] For some examples, see above, p. 206 n. 32.

[3] The 1556 annotation on Matt 27:46 λαμά alone suffices as proof that Stephanus' marginal apparatus and Beza's annotations are related: Beza gives exactly the same information as Stephanus, on ten manuscripts distributed over three variant readings. He even faithfully reproduces Stephanus' errors, both the obvious one (η´/L is mentioned twice) and the hidden one (β´/D actually supports λαμά, not λιμά). Backus's lengthy demonstration that Beza relies on the manuscripts that are also indicated in Stephanus' edition (*Reformed Roots*, pp. 1–7)

tween Beza's annotations and Stephanus' apparatus is confirmed by some annotations, in which mention is made of "our Stephanus' manuscripts"[4] and indirectly by the printer's note in the 1556 edition.[5] In the 1556 preface, Beza himself actually states that he used Stephanus' collations directly, that is, the information on which Stephanus drew for his critical apparatus. In a 1565 addition to the preface, Beza informs us that the collations were actually Henri Stephanus',[6] who was probably asked to do them by his father.[7] Some readings mentioned by Beza in the same way as the others are not found in Stephanus' editions; they are probably derived from the collations.[8] Perhaps Beza simply used the printed sources (Stephanus' third edition etc.) and the book of collations in addition, but since the latter has been lost

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would have been greatly facilitated had she also consulted Beza's first edition. Somewhat surprisingly as well, Backus nowhere refers to Wettstein's discussion as found in his *NTG* 1, especially p. 148.

[4] At Mark 1:11 Beza gives the reading ἐν σοι as found "in vetustis Roberti exemplaribus 3.4, et 8" (in 1556 only); at John 7:53 Beza speaks about "the seventeen manuscripts of our Stephanus" ("vetustis Stephani nostri codicibus septemdecim") (in 1556 only; in 1565, 'Stephani nostri' is changed into 'nostris'); at John 1:14 πλήρης "all manuscript copies of our Stephanus" are mentioned ("omnia ... manuscripta Stephani nostri exemplaria ..."—1556 only). Cf. the annotation at Matt 10:12 (1556 only). In general, references to Robert Stephanus were edited out of the second edition (e.g. in the annotation on Matt 1:23), except for the letter-preface.

[5] In this printer's note, Robert Stephanus writes on the Greek manuscripts that "it concerns both others and all those that are present in the French King's library" ("sunt autem cum alia, tum ea omnia quae in Regis Gallorum bibliotheca extant"; 1556 edition, p. 335ʳ). These same two categories of manuscripts are mentioned in the preface of Stephanus' third edition of the Greek New Testament (1550).

[6] There are actually only two sources indicating that the collations used by Robert Stephanus for his third edition are his son's: Henri Stephanus' own words in the preface to his 1587 New Testament, and the remark added by Beza in the preface to his second edition.

[7] For the old discussion on the collations used by Robert Stephanus on whether they made by himself or by his son Henri, see Wettstein, *NTG* 1, pp. 143–145.

[8] E.g. τρέψον in Matt 5:39 (1556: "In uno codice ..."); the omission of πρῶτον in Matt 8:21 (1556: "Vetustum quoddam exemplar ..."); the reading κωφοὺς ἀκούοντας, ἀλάλους λαλοῦντας in Matt 15:31 (1556: "in uno vetere codice"). For instances which involve Codex Bezae, see below, p. 227 n. 62. Cf. Wettstein, *NTG* 1, p. 36. James Rendel Harris (*Codex Bezae*, pp. 3–6) contests that Beza had access to the collations, but he does so after consultation of Beza's fifth edition only.

nothing can be said with certainty.[9] Some of the disparities be-
tween Stephanus' marginal apparatus and Beza's annotations may
go back to Henri's collations and thus to errors or reduction of
information by Stephanus; others may be due to Beza's use of his
material.

Beza often refers to readings derived from Stephanus in ways
that suggest that he actually consulted the manuscripts himself.[10]
However this impression is deceptive, at least in the case of Ste-
phanus' manuscripts, as is demonstrated by a noticeable change
between Beza's first edition and his second. In the first, readings
are mostly referred to with expressions such as 'it is read' ('legi-
tur') and 'it was written' ('scriptum erat'); when the annotations
are edited for the second edition many of these expressions are
changed into 'I read' ('legi'), 'we find written' ('scriptum inveni-
mus') and the like. It is just a matter of style.

9.2 THE NUMBER OF MANUSCRIPTS AND BEZA'S EDITORIAL ACTIVITY

There has been some discussion and confusion about the exact
number of manuscripts Beza may have used. This confusion is in
large part due to the conflicting statements offered by Beza him-
self. In the preface to the first edition (1556), Beza mentions the
number twenty-five, after having explained his critical use of
Valla's, Lefèvre's and Erasmus' annotations:

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[9] At Matt 27:64, Stephanus' third edition mentions two manuscripts for the
omission of νύκτος (before κλέψωσιν αὐτόν), to wit β´ (D) and ιγ´ (398); min.
398 does not contain the Gospels, so there is an error here (possibly ιδ´ (12) is
intended; cf. Wettstein, *NTG* a.h.l.). Beza's annotation mentions the absence of
νύκτος "in vetustis codicibus secundo et decimotertio" (1556; 1565: "in duobus
vetustis codicibus"), simply following Stephanus here as elsewhere.

[10] Cf. Wettstein, *NTG* 1, p. 148, who enumerates seven reasons for characte-
rising Beza's use of Stephanus' material as 'very disgraceful' ('foedissimum'). The
seven reasons are:
– Beza exaggerates the number of manuscripts;
– he treats the Complutensian edition as one of Stephanus' manuscripts;
– he presents the readings as if he himself consulted the manuscripts;
– he acts as if each manuscript contains the entire New Testament;
– he mistakes the absence of a variant reading in Stephanus' collations for proof
that all manuscripts go with the edited text;
– he presents Stephanus' manuscript β´ and his own 'Codex Bezae' as two
witnesses that confirm each other's readings;
– he cites the readings without Stephanus' sigla.

In addition to all this came a copy from the library of our Stephanus, collated as accurately as possible with some twenty-five manuscript codices and almost all the printed ones.[11]

In the preface to the second edition (1565), the number is not changed, but the information is more precise:

In addition to all this came a copy from the library of our Stephanus, collated by Henri Stephanus, his son and heir of his father's assiduity, as accurately as possible with some twenty-five manuscript codices and almost all the printed ones.[12]

These words, with the number twenty-five, are maintained without changes in the preface to the third edition (1582),[13] which however also contains another, small preface, in which Beza enumerates the new material used for the revision; here the number seventeen is given:

We collated these books of the New Covenant ... again with the various readings from the seventeen Greek books cited by Robert Stephanus, ...[14]

In the fourth edition (1589) the longer preface is retained, with the number twenty-five,[15] as well as the other preface with its number seventeen,[16] but in the new preface to the fifth (1598), only one number is mentioned, namely nineteen:

It is already forty-two years ago, my Christian reader, that I undertook to correct the Latin translation of the New Testament, after collation of the Greek text ... with as many as nineteen very old manuscripts and many printed books from everywhere ...[17]

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[11] 1556, p. AA.ii^v and *Correspondance* 2, p. 229: "Ad haec omnia accessit exemplar ex Stephani nostri bibliotheca, cum viginti quinque plus minus manu scriptis codicibus, et omnibus pene impressis diligentissime collatum."

[12] 1565, p. *.iiii^r and *Correspondance* 5, p. 170: "Ad haec omnia accessit exemplar ex Stephani nostri bibliotheca cum vigintiquinque plus minus manuscriptis codicibus, et omnibus pene impressis, ab Henrico Stephano eius filio, et paternae sedulitatis haerede, quam diligentissime collatum."

[13] 1582, p. iiii^r.

[14] "Hos Novi Foederis libros ... cum variis septemdecim Graecorum codicum a Roberto Stephano ... citatorum lectionibus rursum contulimus, ..." (1582, p. i^v; *Correspondance* 23, pp. 235–236).

[15] 1589, pp. ii^r–v^v, esp. iiii^r–v.

[16] 1589, p. i^v (1588, p. vi^v).

[17] 1598, the first of two pages which are not numbered: "Annus agitur quadragesimus secundus, Christiane lector, ex quo Novi Testamenti Latinam interpretationem emendare sum agressus, Graeco contextu ... cum novemdecim

Some critics ingeniously suggest that the number twenty-five represents a typesetter's error ('XV' taken as 'XXV') for fifteen, since that agrees more or less with the actual number of manuscripts used in the apparatus of Stephanus' third edition.[18] Wettstein, who carefully studied Beza's editions and did not find their editor to be a kindred spirit, surmises a simple hyperbole, through which the editor makes his Greek text seem to rest on a firmer base than it actually did.[19] According to others, it indicates—albeit approximately—the number of manuscripts that were actually collated by Henri Stephanus and which can be supposed to include some manuscripts not used for Stephanus' apparatus.[20] The difference between Stephanus' 'fifteen' or 'sixteen' and Beza's 'twenty-five' can then be explained either by supposing that Stephanus' apparatus contained but a small part of the information gathered by Henri, or by supposing that Henri continued to note readings of other Greek manuscripts in the book—undoubtedly an edition of the Greek New Testament[21]—that had previously been used for the apparatus of Stephanus' third edition and was lent or given by Robert Stephanus to Beza some years later, during the preparation of his first edition.

Attractive though it may be to refrain from conjectural emendation, several arguments indicate that the number twenty-five mentioned in 1556 cannot be correct. This becomes clear from the few indications on the total number of manuscripts that can be found in the annotations themselves. For instance in the annotation on John 7:53, "the seventeen old books of our Stephanus" are mentioned,[22] and "Stephanus' sixteen old books" in the anno

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vetustissimus quam plurimis manuscriptis et multis passim impressis codicibus ... collato, ..."

[18]   Hug, *Einleitung* 1, p. 325. Hug indicates that he is not the author of the conjecture.

[19]   Wettstein, *NTG* 1, p. 143.

[20]   Gottlob Wilhelm Meyer, *Schrifterklärung*, 2, p. 72; Scrivener, *Introduction* 2, p. 191; Backus, *Reformed Roots*, pp. 35–36 n. 9.

[21]   See Backus, *Reformed Roots*, p. 35 n. 8 for a discussion of the ambiguity of Beza's term 'exemplar'.

[22]   1556: "Ex vetustis Stephani nostri codicibus septemdecim ..." (in 1565, 'Stephani nostri' is changed into 'nostris'). Here 'codicibus' cannot be translated as 'manuscripts', for it includes the Complutensian Polyglot. In Beza's annotation on John 7:8 (1556 and 1565), the total number of 'books' also amounts to seventeen; in the annotation on 1 Cor 15:29, it amounts to sixteen; in the annotation on 2 Cor 8:24, Beza interprets the siglum π. in Stephanus' third

tation on 1 Cor 7:29.[23] Annotations such as these would suggest, by the way, that the typesetter's error can also have been to have misread XVI or XVII as XXV. Especially the latter is transcriptionally interesting, and agrees exactly with the correction, if we can name it that, in the small preface of the third edition. It also agrees with the number mentioned in the last edition: the nineteen manuscripts can be seen as Stephanus' seventeen coupled with Codex Bezae and Codex Claromontanus.

There is only one problem with the conjecture: the error was spotted very late. It should be noted, however, that the 1556 preface was not very heavily edited in later editions, except for the large additions in 1565 when it was reworked into a letter-preface to Queen Elizabeth. Besides, as we have seen in the case of Erasmus, editors may tend to forget the exact state of affairs with regard to their own, earlier editions and naively assume their own printed words to be correct.

9.3 THE GREEK TEXT OF THE EDITIONS OF 1556 AND 1565

Beza's actual use of the information provided by Stephanus is surprising for modern textual critics. When Wettstein formulates the well-known rule that manuscripts are to be estimated by their weight, not by their number,[24] he may have had Beza in mind as the prime example of the opposite. With all the imperfections inherent to Stephanus' apparatus, the manuscripts cited in his edition at least had their distinctive sigla; Beza, however, already in the course of the preparation of his first edition decided to stop referring to Stephanus' manuscripts as 'the second manuscript', 'the third' and so on, and replaced these references by 'some manuscript', 'two manuscripts' and so on. In the printer's note we read:

> As far as the old Greek copies of the New Testament are concerned, the information [fides] and authority of which are cited very often in these annotations (it concerns both others and all

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edition, which stands for ἐν πᾶσι ("in all 'books' "), as sixteen.

[23] 1556: "ex sedecim vetustorum Stephani codicum"; from 1565 onwards, 'Stephani' is omitted.

[24] *NTG* 2, p. 870.

those that are present in the French King's library), the author thought it well to communicate to you the following through me. At first he used to cite them by name, by calling them 'first', 'second', and so forth, but later on he refrained from naming them thus [illorum denominatione] because of the tedium that it involved for him together with the fact that it is of no use to you, and limited himself to giving their number [enumeratione].[25]

It is rather easy to interpret this statement: Beza grew tired of citing the manuscripts according to Stephanus' sigla,[26] and as he was not interested in the individuality of the manuscripts (with the exception of the Complutensian Polyglot), he decided to concentrate on the readings and to justify this decision by supposing that his readers would not need anything more. Thus, in a large part of the 1556 annotations, Stephanus' manuscripts are only referred to in vague terms. In 1565, most annotations in which distinct manuscripts were mentioned in 1556 are edited accordingly. As a result, as far as textual criticism is concerned, his edition can no longer be called critical;[27] it becomes a commentary

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[25] "... quod ad vetera Novi Testamenti Graeci exemplaria attinet, quorum fides et authoritas in his annotationibus saepissime citatur (sunt autem cum alia, tum ea omnia quae in Regis Gallorum bibliotheca extant) de hoc te commonefaciendum per me putavit illarum author se nimirum quum initio ea citare nominatim soleret vocando hoc "primum", illud "secundum", et ita deinceps; postea ob suum ea in re cum nulla tua utilitate coniunctum taedium illorum denominatione supersedisse, enumeratione contentum" (1556, p. 335ʳ). Cf. Wettstein's comment (*NTG* 1, p. 148) on this decision, given through some well-known lines from Horace's *Ars poetica* (ll. 140.143–144): "Quanto rectius hic, qui nil molitur inepte: /// Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem / cogitat ..." ("How much more to the purpose he, who attempts nothing improperly ... He meditates not [to produce] smoke from a flash, but out of smoke to elicit fire ..." (translation C. Smart (Perseus)).

[26] The point can be located with some precision as the end of Luke's Gospel (assuming, as is probably correct, that Beza simply worked his way through the New Testament). At the end of Luke, we still find enumerations of several manuscripts (e.g. seven at Luke 22:36; three at Luke 23:2 and 23:15), but in John, references to more than two manuscripts are no longer precise. A single manuscript, or the Complutensian Polyglot, is still often identified. In the second edition almost all references except those to the Complutensian Polyglot, also those to single manuscripts, are 'anonymised'. Some instances, notably references to Stephanus' β′, still remain. In one case, the reading ἄρτων in Matt 16:11, the precise reference to two of Stephanus' manuscripts was dropped only in the last edition.

[27] It should be noted however that Beza's practice is not unique. The Greek New Testament published by Robert Stephanus II (Paris 1568) has an appendix with the variant readings from the 1550 edition, but without the sigla (see *Bibelsammlung* I–3, p. 51; no. C 103).

which can at best be used as a companion volume to Stephanus'
1550 edition, for he usually glosses the readings and often pro-
vides some commentary, noting for instance agreement with the
Vulgate.

Moreover, Beza also uses the collations uncritically as far as
the numbers of the manuscripts are concerned: he does not rea-
lise that the total number of sixteen sources does not hold for the
whole NT. For instance, even if Henri's collation actually con-
tained information on more manuscripts than the fifteen (or
sixteen with the Complutensian Polyglot) used for the 1550 edi-
tion, Beza's remark that only one out of Stephanus' seventeen
manuscripts omits the *pericope adulterae* is uncritical, for none of
the manuscripts cited contain the entire New Testament; in John,
actually only ten (eleven with the Complutensian edition) are
used. Similarly, the number sixteen, mentioned in an annotation
on the inclusion of ὅτι in 1 Cor 7:29, is equally uncritical: of
Stephanus' sources, only eight (including the Complutensian
Polyglot) actually contain the Pauline corpus.[28]

The study of Beza's edition of the Greek text must begin with
the remark that Beza never discusses it as such. He takes the text
as found in Stephanus' editions for granted and does not see him-
self as the editor of the Greek text. This fact is also shown by the
striking absence of any description of the way the Greek was
taken over or edited in the 1565 edition. In fact, the letter-pre-
face does not mention its addition at all. The only conclusion that
can be drawn from this rather loud silence is that Beza hardly
considered the Greek text as a problem in its own right.

Yet there were a number of changes in the Greek text, behind
most of which Beza's hand can be seen at work. In order to
obtain an idea of Beza's editorial activity in the establishment of
the Greek text, an analysis of the known differences between Ste-
phanus' fourth edition (1551) and Beza's second proves to be
revealing.[29] A small part of these differences has been classified by

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[28] See the list of Stephanus' manuscripts in appendix II. Isaac Newton shows
how such an uncritical use of Stephanus' edition led Beza to assume that the
Johannine Comma is actually found in a number of manuscripts (*Correspon-
dence* 3, no. 358; p. 99).

[29] See Hoskier, *Full Account*, Appendix B, pp. 3–13. Hoskier's list does not
cover all differences between Stephanus' fourth edition and Beza's second
because of an important limitation: its entries include only those instances where

Reuss into a few categories,[30] but the analysis will show that more and different factors have to be taken into account. Reuss merely looked at the provenance of Beza's readings, for instance the Complutensian Polyglot or Erasmus' editions, but it is worthwhile to investigate Beza's actual sources as well as the reasons he may have had to adopt a given reading. Moreover, Beza's first edition has to be included as part of the equation. This is done by neither Reuss nor Hoskier, for the simple reason that Beza's first edition does not contain a Greek text.

Hoskier indicates a hundred and eighteen textual changes between Stephanus' third and fourth edition and Beza's second. These changes are somewhat unevenly distributed over the New Testament: Acts and Revelation, with nineteen and seventeen changes respectively, are better represented than other books. In the case of Revelation, Beza's text clearly moves from the Erasmian text towards the better text in the Complutensian Polyglot.[31] In Acts or elsewhere, no such pattern can be distinguished.

Twenty-seven readings can be disregarded as affecting only accents, punctuation, etc.[32] Another ten are corrections of errors

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the first Elzevir edition (1624) differs from Stephanus' third. An example of a Bezan reading which differs from both Stephanus' and the Elzevirs' is found at 2 Thes 2:4: Beza adopts Erasmus' conjecture πᾶν τό into his Greek text; he does not however consider it a conjecture, but appeals to the Vulgate and to Jerome. If it is recalled that the main sources for the Elzevir edition were Beza's editions and that Beza's Greek text was relatively stable, the estimate can be given that Hoskier covers at least 80% of the actual differences between Stephanus' fourth and Beza's second. In all, they offer a good basis for an evaluation of Beza's editorial activity, especially after further analysis with the aid of the apparatus in Stephanus' third edition, Beza's annotations and his Latin translation.

[30] Reuss, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 85–86. Of Reuss's 25 instances only Col 1:20 (the addition of δι᾽ αὐτοῦ (not in 1556 tr.)) is not given by Hoskier (because St³ reads δι᾽ αὐτοῦ as well). The 25 instances are divided by Reuss as follows:
– 9 are found in the Complutensian Polyglot (Acts 21:3; Rom 8:11; 12:11; Col 1:2; 2 Tim 4:13; Rev 2:5; 5:11; 8:11; 14:18);
– 4 are found in Erasmus' editions (Luke 10:22; 1 Tim 1:4; Titus 2:7; Heb 9:1);
– 3 are found in both Complutensian Polyglot and Erasmus' editions (2 Cor 11:10; Col 1:20; 1 Pet 3:11);
– 9 are 'new' (John 18:20; Acts 9:35; Acts 17:25 (also in Simon de Colines's edition of 1534); Rom 7:6; Jas 5:12 (Colines); 1 Pet 2:21; 3:21; Rev 11:1; Rev 11:2.

[31] One could also state that in Revelation Beza prefers the text of Stephanus' first (and second) edition; in numerous instances, however, explicit reference is made to the Complutensian Polyglot.

[32] Beza introduces for instance the punctuation still found in MCT at Rom 8:20, 1 Cor 11:22 and Heb 12:22; as in MCT, he writes ὅ τι instead of ὅτι at

in Stephanus' third and fourth edition.[33] Of these ten, only the corrections at John 16:33[34] and 2 Cor 11:10[35] are less obvious. Eight other changes are errors in Beza's own edition which can probably be imputed to the typesetters rather than to Beza himself.[36] Intriguing is another error, at Acts 15:32: in 1556, Beza's translation 'autem' agrees with the Vulgate and reflects δέ; this δέ is actually printed in 1565, against Stephanus' editions, but the translation no longer agrees with it, for it has become 'quoque', which supposes Stephanus' τε. Yet another error occurs at John 9:10, where the unattested σοι is printed instead of σου. In the words πῶς ἀνεῴχθησάν σου οἱ ὀφθαλμοί ("how were your eyes opened?"—RSV) σοι may appear to be an emendation influenced by the Vulgate's (and Beza's own) 'tibi', but it has to be considered an error in the light of similar expressions in the same chapter.[37] It may even be no more than a typesetting error which went uncorrected because it happened to result in a seemingly normal text.

John 8:25; at 1 Cor 5:11, he reads the first ἤ as ᾖ (cf. the Vulgate, followed by Erasmus' translation).

[33] John 16:33 ἔξετε; Acts 23:15 διαγνώσκειν; 1 Cor 7:4 ἐκ (instead of οὐκ); 1 Cor 9:1 ἡμεῖς (instead of ὑμεῖς); 1 Cor 9:27 δουλαγαγῶ; 1 Cor 16:10 ἐγάζεται; 2 Cor 11:10 σφραγίσεται (instead of φραγήσεται); Titus 2:10 ὑμῶν (instead of ἡμῶν); 1 Pet 3:11 the omission of ἀγαθόν, ζητησάτω; 1 John 5:14 ὑμῶν (instead of ἡμῶν).

[34] At John 16:33, Stephanus' third and fourth edition actually have a spelling error (ξ for χ in ἔχετε), but Beza apparently analysed it as an error of accentuation (ἔ for έ). Cf. Scrivener, *Authorized Edition*, p. 249. The error ἔξετε is actually corrected (to ἔχετε) in the errata (τὰ σφάλματα οὕτω διόρθωσον) of Stephanus' third edition (1550, II p. 203). Beza's correction ἔξετε happens to be attested (NA[27]: D *f*[.13] ...). His choice was probably influenced by the Vulgate text he knew.

[35] At 2 Cor 11:10 Tischendorf remarks: "TR (Stephanus) [has] ου σφραγισεται out of conjecture or by error" ("ς ου σφραγισεται de coniectura vel errore ..."—Ti[8]). Hoskier and Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.) note that Stephanus' first edition (1546) has σφραγήσεται. The latter would therefore seem to be the original type-setting error, subsequently corrected in the wrong direction, namely σφραγίσεται, which has at least the merits of being an existing form of a not infrequent verb. Thus Tischendorf's 'de coniectura vel errore' can be put more precisely as 'de errore atque coniectura'.

[36] Mark 1:21: the article is dropped before συναγωγήν; Luke 3:33: Ἐσρών instead of Ἐσρώμ; Luke 13:19: ὅ instead of ὅν; John 19:7: the article is added before θεοῦ; 1 Cor 5:7 ἐθύθη instead of ἐτύθη; 1 Cor 6:14 ὑμᾶς instead of ἡμας; 1 Cor 13:3 ψωμίζω instead of ψωμίσω; 2 Pet 1:1: the addition of ἡμῶν after σωτῆρος.

[37] The genitive (σου, αὐτοῦ, μου, τυφλοῦ) is also used in John 9:14.17.21.26.30.32.

From the remaining seventy-one changes, more than half (fourty-five) are discussed in an accompanying annotation. In all but three of these annotations, Beza indicates some kind of attestation for the readings he adopts. This attestation can be broken down into the four categories that regularly recur: Greek manuscripts, the Complutensian Polyglot, the Vulgate and patristic sources. These categories occur in various combinations, as shown by the following diagram.[38]
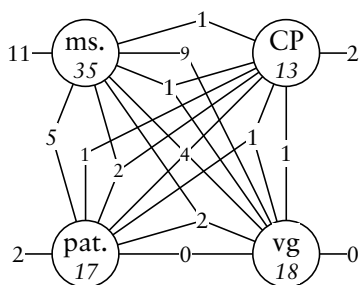
annotated readings (45)

The Vulgate is referred to eighteen times, but a Vulgate reading is never regarded as in itself sufficient reason to adopt the Greek reading it reflects (indicated by the 0 at the right of the diagram). Even the combination of Vulgate attestation with patristic evidence alone does not suffice. Patristic sources themselves are referred to at seventeen places,[39] and in two instances a reading is adopted for which Beza indicates patristic support alone. The first is the reading ἀποθανόντος at Rom 7:6, which Beza finds in Chrysostom's *Homilies*. This reading will be discussed below, for it can better be regarded as a Bezan conjecture (see below, pp. 274–279). The second is the addition of ἐν before ἀσελγείαις at 2 Pet 2:18. Here, Beza's only source are the 'Greek scholia',[40]

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[38] CP = Complutensian Polyglot; pat. = patristic source.

[39] Nonnus at John 12:17; Chrysostom at Acts 24:19 and Rom 7:6; Ambrose (Ambrosiaster) at 2 Cor 7:12; Theophylact at 2 Cor 7:12; the 'Greek scholia' at Rom 12:11, 1 Cor 7:29, 2 Cor 5:4, 2 Pet 2:18 and 2 John 5; Basil at 1 Cor 7:29; Clement at Phil 1:23; Arethas at Rev 2:14; 5:11; 7:10; 8:11; 11:2; 14:18; 16:14.

[40] As Beza regularly refers to Arethas's text of Revelation, it seems likely that he used the 1532 Verona edition (by Donatus) in which the Greek catenae associated with Oecumenius on Acts, Paul's Epistles and the Catholic Epistles are combined with Arethas's commentary on Revelation.

which makes his position rather weak. It shows that he does not critically evaluate the quality of the attestation: the decisive point is the grammatical problem presented by the text.

For the other annotated readings, the Complutensian Polyglot is an important source. All references Beza makes to it can actually be found in Stephanus' apparatus; it would thus seem likely that Beza did not consult the Complutensian directly. This impression is corroborated by the fact that Beza does not mention the Complutensian in some instances where he could have done so.[41] In two instances, the Complutensian reading is the only source on which Beza bases his alteration. In 1 Pet 3:21, Beza adopts ᾧ instead of ὅ, a reading which is probably a grammatical conjecture made by the Complutensian editors, also suggested by Erasmus.[42] In Rev 11:1, Beza's text includes the words καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἱστήκει before λέγων.[43] The reading from the Complutensian Polyglot indicated in Stephanus' third edition is slightly different: καὶ εἱστήκει ὁ ἄγγελος; this is actually what the Complutensian has (και ειστήκει ο ἄγγελος λέγων / "et dictum est mihi"). Beza's reading is a slip of the pen, perhaps under influence from the normal word order in French. The reason to adopt it is clearly contextual: in a text without the angel standing by it would appear that the words "Rise, and measure ..." are actually spoken by the measuring rod itself, an impression which most English translations, following the Vulgate, avoid by rendering

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[41] At Acts 24:19, Stephanus' third edition does not indicate the omission of δέ which Beza adopts. Beza mentions 'two manuscripts' and Chrysostom, but not the Complutensian Polyglot in which δέ is also omitted. At 2 John 5, Stephanus mentions three manuscripts for the reading γράφων (instead of γράφῳ), but not the Complutensian Polyglot, which also has it. Beza mentions the Vulgate, Stephanus' 'three manuscripts' and the 'Greek scholia'. Beza's silence at 2 Cor 6:15 is striking as well: following the Vulgate's 'Belial', he adopts Βελίαλ without an annotation on his choice of reading. In the Complutensian Polyglot, βελιάλ can be found, which is probably a pro-Vulgate emendation, but Stephanus does not record it. Erasmus retains the Vulgate's 'Belial' in his Latin translation and Βελίαρ in his Greek text; he regards the latter as an (orthographic) concession to the particularities of the Greek language, in which according to him no words end in λ (in the annotation 'Christi ad Belial'; from 1516 onwards). The NT occurrence of nineteen (Hebrew) names ending in λ however shows that such a change from Βελίαλ into Βελίαρ is no necessity.

[42] See above, p. 132. In adopting the Complutensian ᾧ, Beza neglects a change of word order also indicated in Stephanus' collations.

[43] In 1565 εἱστήκει is printed (ex err.).

λέγων as "I was told". Another reading adopted from the Complutensian New Testament is αὐτῆς in Luke 2:22. As this reading is actually a conjecture made by the Complutensian editors, only apparently supported by the Vulgate and argued for by Beza in a characteristic way, it will be discussed below (see below, p. 293).

Some more complications arise when Beza's use of manuscript evidence is considered. He mentions manuscript support for thirty-five readings, but in most cases he indicates only the number of manuscripts that have his reading; he does not enumerate the manuscripts themselves. In most cases (twenty-nine) the reading adopted by Beza can be found in Stephanus' apparatus; the conclusion is warranted that they are indeed derived from Stephanus' collations. Beza's use of these collations is somewhat problematic at Acts 24:14. There he changes the reading καὶ τοῖς προφήταις found in all earlier editions into the smoother καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, on the basis of 'three manuscripts'. Stephanus' apparatus actually indicates these three manuscripts, but his variant reading is καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς προφήταις.[44]

But what about the other six readings for which Beza indicates manuscript support, but which is not confirmed by Stephanus' apparatus? In some instances, we may actually have examples of extra information contained in Henri's collations which did not make it into his father's third edition.[45] Some questions remain, notably at Luke 7:12. In his annotation Beza writes that he found three forms in the manuscripts ('in manuscriptis codicibus'):

1. καὶ αὕτη ἦν χήρα, καὶ ὄχλος τῆς πόλεως ἱκανὸς σὺν αὐτῇ

2. καὶ αὐτὴ χήρα, καὶ ὄχλος τῆς πόλεως ἱκανὸς ἦν σὺν αὐτῇ

3. καὶ αὐτῇ χήρα, καὶ ὄχλος τῆς πόλεως ἱκανὸς ἦν σὺν αὐτῇ

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[44] In the 1550 edition, Stephanus' addition sign * (comparable to the sign ⊤ in N[13]–NA[27]) is put between τοῖς and προφήταις, and the marginal note runs "* ἐν τοῖς. δ.ε.ια". This longer reading is adopted in modern (critical) editions (cf. NA[27]). Beza's new reading makes κατὰ τὸν νόμον and ἐν τοῖς προφήταις completely parallel as modifiers of πᾶσι τοῖς ... γεγραμμένοις.

[45] At John 18:24 (οὖν), two manuscripts are mentioned by Beza (cf. Wettstein's cynical remark in *NTG* a.h.l.); the choice is related to Beza's adaption of Cyril's reading (see below, pp. 304–305). At Acts 9:35, one manuscript is mentioned for Σάρωνα. At Acts 19:27 (μέλλειν τε), Beza appeals to 'some manuscripts' ('in quibusdam codicibus'); the reading is actually indicated by Erasmus and even adopted from Erasmus' second edition onwards. At Acts 24:19 (the omission of δέ): Beza mentions two manuscripts and Chrysostom. At Heb 4:15 (πεπειρασμένον), one manuscript is mentioned.

He prefers the third, but in the reading actually printed ἦν is omitted.[46] Two aspects deserve attention: the omission or inclusion of ἦν before χήρα and before σὺν αὐτῇ, and the choice between the nominative case αὐτὴ χήρα and the dative case αὐτῇ χήρᾳ.[47] The manuscripts alternate mainly between the double inclusion of ἦν and its double omission; the inclusion of only the first ἦν occurs rarely, and even rarer is the inclusion of only the second ἦν (see Ti[8]). The dative αὐτῇ χήρᾳ is also very rare.[48] Where then do Beza's readings come from? The first one is the text as it is found in Erasmus' editions, followed by Stephanus' third (and fourth) edition.[49] The omission of the first ἦν is found in the Complutensian Polyglot, followed by Stephanus' first and second edition.[50] The reading in Stephanus' first and second edition however is not directly derived from the Complutensian Polyglot, but is based on an infelicitous interpretation of its reading καὶ αυτή χήρα. As the Spanish edition omits all breathings and iota subscripts and puts only one accent (the acute) on every word of two syllables or more,[51] this reading can represent both καὶ αὐτὴ χήρα (but not αὕτη) and καὶ αὐτῇ χήρᾳ. When in his first edition Stephanus adopted the Complutensian reading, he had to remove the ambiguity introduced by its typesetting conventions.[52] He chose the dative, which has the merit of establishing a close connection with the preceding words τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ. It is this idea that pleased Beza as well, but the reading itself happens to be virtually unattested.

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[46] Hoskier indicates that ἦν before σὺν αὐτῇ is found in Beza's minor editions only.

[47] For the alternation between αὕτη and αὐτή, see BDR § 277₅.

[48] Ti[8] and von Soden do not mention it, and Wettstein indicates one minuscule.

[49] The first ἦν, not found in min. 2, may have been included from min. 1, under influence from the Vulgate reading "et haec vidua erat".

[50] The second and third reading probably go back to Stephanus' collations.

[51] This is the case only for the Greek text of the New Testament, not for other parts where Greek is used. On the accentuation in the New Testament part of the Complutensian Polyglot, see John A.L. Lee, 'Dimitrios Doukas'.

[52] The entire verse in the Complutensian Polyglot reads καὶ ιδού εξεκομίζετο τεθνηκως υιός μονογενής τη μητρί αυτού. και αυτή χήρα, και όχλος της πόλεως ικανός συν αυτή. The punctuation, together with the Vulgate column in which "Et hec vidua erat" is read, speaks against the interpretation αὐτῇ χήρᾳ. Scrivener (*Authorized Edition*, p. 257) incorrectly gives the latter as the Complutensian reading.

Three readings are discussed in an annotation without explicit reference to positive attestation, but only one of these is clearly conjectural: πάντοθεν in John 18:20.[53] The other two show some intriguing aspects of Beza's text-critical scholarship.

At 1 Tim 1:4, Beza writes:

> ... the old [Greek] manuscripts read οἰκονομίαν, 'administration', instead of οἰκοδομίαν, but this seems more obscure to me.[54]

Beza actually adopts a reading, οἰκοδομίαν, which is not found in Greek manuscripts but only in Erasmus' editions, where it probably represents a pro-Vulgate correction by either Erasmus or one of his proof-readers. Somewhat disturbingly, Beza mentions neither the Vulgate nor Erasmus, and presents his choice as a matter of course. At Titus 2:7, there is at least a form of text-critical reasoning for the omission of ἀφθαρσίαν. According to Beza, the word is superfluous, and originated as a marginal gloss.[55]

And what about the twenty-six changes that are made without an annotation? In thirteen instances, six of which occur in Revelation, Beza adopts a reading actually known from Stephanus' apparatus.[56] The other thirteen readings are:

	Stephanus 1550	Beza 1565
Matt 20:15	εἰ ὁ ὀφθαλμός	ἤ ὁ ὀφθαλμος
Luke 10:19	ἀδικήσῃ	ἀδικήσει
Luke 12:18	γενήματα	γεννήματα
Acts 2:36	καὶ Κύριον	Κυρίον
Acts 5:12	ἐγένετο	ἐγίνετο
Acts 7:26	τῇ τε	τῇ δέ

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[53] Discussed below (see p. 273).

[54] " ... vetusti codices pro οἰκοδομίαν legunt οἰκονομίαν, id est dispensationem, quod mihi videtur obscurius" (from 1556 onwards).

[55] The reading was included in Erasmus' editions because of its presence in min. 2815 (2ᵖ). Beza may have known of its omission in many manuscripts, for instance through Stephanus' collations, but this is not hinted at in his annotation.

[56] John 6:28 ποιῶμεν (in Stephanus' third edition followed by π., 'all [manuscripts]'); Acts 19:33 προβαλλόντων (CP and two mss.); Acts 23:16 τὴν ἐνέδραν (three mss.); 2 Cor 13:4 καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς (one ms.); Col 1:2 Κολοσσαῖς (CP and three mss.); 1 Pet 2:21 ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν (two mss.); 3 John 7 αὐτοῦ (CP and one ms.); Rev 3:12 ἡ καταβαίνει (CP and two mss.); Rev 4:3 ὁμοία (CP); Rev 4:10 προσκυνήσουσι (CP and one ms.); Rev 4:10 βαλοῦσι (one ms.); Rev 7:3 σφραγίσωμεν (CP and two mss.); Rev 13:3 ἐθαύμασεν ὅλη ἡ γῆ (CP and one ms.).

Acts 8:19	ἄν	ἐάν
1 Cor 13:2	οὐθέν	οὐδέν
2 Cor 6:15	βελίαρ	Βελίαλ
Gal 3:8	ἐνευλογηθήσονται	εὐλογηθήσονται
Phil 4:2	Εὐωδίαν	Εὐοδίαν
1 John 1:4	ἡμῶν	ὑμῶν
Rev 2:5	τάχει	ταχύ

Several of these readings can be seen as (Bezan) corrections, even though there is no annotation. At Rev 2:5, ταχύ is a correction of an Erasmian error. οὐδέν in 1 Cor 13:2 is an adaptation to the direct context (verse 3), and, more importantly, a 'correction' of the single instance of οὐθέν towards the usual οὐδέν.[57] At Acts 8:19, ἐάν is perhaps a grammatical correction,[58] and Εὐδίαν at Phil 4:2 may be an orthographic correction. At 2 Cor 6:15, a different kind of correction can be observed: Βελίαλ instead of Βελίαρ brings the Greek in line with both the Vulgate and the *Hebraica veritas*. At Luke 12:18, an error in Beza's edition can be surmised, for his translation 'fructus' corresponds to γενήματα, not to the reading γεννήματα that is adopted.

With regard to the other readings it cannot be determined whether they concern errors, small corrections, or even pro-Vulgate choices. In any case it is clear that Beza did not hesitate to change his Greek text at moments of choice, though no clear patterns can be detected either in his external criticism (the minimum attestation he requires) or in his internal criticism (his motives). As far as external criticism is concerned, however, he seems to demand direct evidence from Greek manuscripts.

Interesting though it is to concentrate on Beza's editorial interventions, it is just as important to comment on what he did not do. Despite his openness to altering the text, as demonstrated above, his tendency to leave the printed text alone is far more prominent. This is obvious as well in the way he deals with the many readings which are marked π. or ἐν πᾶσι ('in all [manuscripts]') in Stephanus' third edition. Except for a very few read-

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[57] In all other instances where MCT has οὐθέν (Luke 23:14; Acts 15:9; 19:27; 26:26), οὐθενός (Luke 22:25; 2 Cor 11:9) or μηθέν (Acts 27:33), Stephanus' third edition has the usual form (οὐδέν—οὐδενός—μηδέν). Beza (or his typesetter) eliminates the last exception.

[58] Cf. BDR §107₈.

ings, he simply adopts Stephanus' text, often even stating in his annotations that 'all manuscripts' read differently. Needless to say, Stephanus' and Beza's attitude towards these readings suffices to demonstrate that it would be completely mistaken to attribute to either or both of them an implicit adherence to a majority principle.[59]

9.4 THE USE OF 'CODEX BEZAE'

Another point at which Beza's editorial activity and critical acumen can be evaluated is his use of the new material in his third edition. For the 1582 edition, Beza had two old uncials at his disposal, manuscripts now known as the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D (05)) and the Codex Claromontanus (D (06)).[60] Especially the former deserves attention, not only because of its prominent role in subsequent New Testament textual criticism, but also because it is now known that the manuscript mentioned by Stephanus under siglum β´ is actually D (05) itself.[61] This means that by a quirk of history, Beza knew numerous readings of D (05) before actually acquiring the manuscript.[62]

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[59] At this decisive point, Letis is clearly mistaken about what he calls "the sixteenth-century approach to New Testament text criticism" (see Letis, 'Beza as Text Critic', especially pp. 133–138).

[60] The fact that different manuscripts may share the same siglum is a heritage of Wettstein's classification (in his *NTG*, 1750–1751), in which the enumeration of manuscripts was made independently for each of the four parts of the New Testament. For that reason D (05) is sometimes referred to as D^ea and D (06) as D^p. It would perhaps be better for Beza's time to refer to D (05) as Codex (Bezae) Lugdunensis, 'Beza's Lyons Codex', as Beza himself does in his 1598 annotation on Matt 22:34.

[61] This fact was still contested in Wettstein's days; see *NTG* 1, pp. 35–38, where he reacts to an anonymous tract *Specimen Animadversionum in Prolegomena* (1731), in which he was attacked on this point. Scrivener writes: "It is surprising that any one should have questioned the identity of Cod. D with Stephen's β´" (*Introduction* 1, p. 124 n. 3). Cf. Tregelles's remark: "... the MS. which is marked β by Stephens ... is either the Codex Bezae, or else a document so precisely resembling it, as to be an undoubted transcript" (*Account*, pp. 31–32).

[62] In the Matthew–Acts apparatus of Stephanus' third edition, manuscript β´ is mentioned explicitly 389 times (cf. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex*, p. ix). The collations contained even more, for example at Mark 10:50, where the TR, with 𝔐, reads ἀναστάς against MCT ἀναπηδήσας. The latter reading is not indicated in Stephanus' edition, but it is introduced by Beza in 1556 as "in the second

The obvious question is: did he notice the identity of his manuscript and Stephanus' β´? This question has already been asked by Wettstein,[63] who presents the evidence from Beza's annotations as mixed or even contradictory: at several places, Beza simply adds a reference to his own codex to the information given in his second edition, thereby of course suggesting that Stephanus' second manuscript and codex Bezae are not identical;[64] at a few other places, however, a reference to Stephanus' manuscript is replaced by one to codex Bezae, which would imply that Beza was aware of their identity.[65] Wettstein concludes:

> ... this replacement of names certainly confirms our suspicion that Beza himself had verified that Stephanus' and his manuscripts were not different, but one and the same.[66]

Wettstein therefore accuses Beza of some kind of *pia* or even *impia fraus* for having presented the D readings as coming from

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manuscript was written ..." ("in secundo codice scriptum erat"); as usual such indications refer to Stephanus' collations. There may however be some error involved here, as a similar instance at Luke 4:17 shows: the reading ἀνοίξας (instead of ἀναπτύξας) is not indicated in Stephanus' edition, but Beza records it in 1556 as "in the second manuscript we read" ("in secundo codice legimus"). The reading ἀνοίξας however is not supported by D. As in the case of Matt 9:20 (δώδεκα ἔτη ἔχουσα ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ) and Matt 27:3 (παραδούς), readings which are incorrectly indicated as attested by D (β´) in Stephanus' edition, it seems that L (Stephanus' η´) is intended. Even at Luke 7:35 the omission of πάντων, indicated by Beza in 1556 "in the second manuscript" ("in secundo codice") and not found in Stephanus' apparatus, is also attested by L. No error is involved in the omission of ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν (𝔐; MCT ἠκολούθει) at Mark 9:38, recorded by Beza in 1556 ("The old translator [the Vulgate] does not read this, nor do we find it in the second manuscript"—"Haec non legit Vetus interpres, neque etiam in secundo codice reperimus"). At Luke 21:24 finally the omission of ἐθνῶν, again indicated by Beza in 1556 "in the second copy" ("in secundo exemplari") and not by Stephanus, is found only in D, which however omits the preceding word καιροί as well. The instances Mark 9:38, 10:50 and Luke 7:35 are already mentioned by Wettstein (*NTG* 1, p. 36).

[63] Half a century before Wettstein, Richard Simon did not notice the identity, and simply supposed that Stephanus' β´ was "un exemplaire semblable à celuy de Cambridge" (*Texte du NT*, c. 372a).

[64] Wettstein, *Prolegomena*, p. 24 (and *NTG* 1, p. 30). Wettstein observes addition at Matt 6:1.6; 10:23; Mark 1:2.5.11.12.38; Luke 4:8; 5:7; 6:5; 16:19; Acts 15:20; 16:38. The reference to Mark 1:38 is probably an error for 9:38.

[65] Wettstein, *Prolegomena*, p. 24 (and *NTG* 1, p. 30). Wettstein observes replacement at Matt 5:30; 28:12 and Mark 5:31 (probably an error for 6:31).

[66] Wettstein, *Prolegomena*, p. 24 (and *NTG* 1, p. 30): "... quae sane nominum permutatio suspicionem nostram confirmat, ipsum Bezam compertum habuisse, diversos codices non esse Stephani et suum, sed unum eundemque." Cf. *NTG* 1, p. 148.

two different manuscripts at many other places.[67] As we will see, Wettstein's conclusions are not correct. It seems that he projects back his own painstaking experience with the use of manuscripts onto Beza's practice. The evidence needs to be reviewed and brought up to date.

Beza's explicit statements on the manuscript, besides the citation of its readings, are scarce. The most important source of information is the letter that accompanied the gift of the manuscript to the University of Cambridge.[68] Beza writes:

> Some years ago I acquired a Greek-Latin manuscript (copy) of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles from the monastery of St Irenaeus in Lyons; it is somewhat incomplete, and not very correctly copied from beginning to end, nor kept with sufficient care, as can be seen from some inserted pages in different characters[69] and from strange remarks that have been added occasionally by some ignorant elder Greek monk.[70] ... Though no one will estimate better than you yourselves how much faith can be had in this manuscript (copy), I thought it well to draw your attention to the following matter: especially in Luke's Gospel I have found such a great discrepancy between this manuscript and any others however old that I would think that it is better to store it than to publish it, in order not to raise offense. However in this divergence—which concerns the choice of words, not the meaning—I have actually found nothing which could make me suspect that it has been corrupted by those old heretics. On the contrary it seems to me that I have discovered many [readings] worthy of great attention; also some which differ from the received Scripture but in such a way that they agree with the writings of some old fathers, both Greek and Latin, and finally not a few through which the old Latin edition [the Vulgate] is confirmed. All of these I have compared according to the measure of my intelligence, and collated with the

[67] See *Prolegomena*, pp. 38–39 (and *NTG* 1, p. 34): "However that may be—for I will not accuse anyone because of his boldness when the matter remains slightly doubtful—, those who proceed by this kind of impious fraud (rather than pious fraud, as it is commonly called), look badly after the Christian cause, and render their own case more suspect" ("Utcunque sit, (neque enim quenquam in re paulum modo dubia eius audaciae insimulabo) qui eiusmodi impia verius, quam, ut vulgo appellant, pia fraude grassantur, rei Christianae pessime consulunt, suamque caussam suspectam potius reddunt"). Cf. *NTG* 2, p. 868.

[68] See also the short preface 'to the Christian reader' in his 1582 edition.

[69] Beza indicates the existence of lacunae and of supplements in a later hand (cf. NA[27], appendix I).

[70] Beza refers to the lectionary notes, τιτλοι (summaries) and *Sortes* (*hermenaiai* or magical formulae) which occur in the manuscript (see Scrivener, *Bezae Codex*, pp. xxvii–xxxi and Parker, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 43–44).

> Syriac and Arabic edition; I have brought them together in my
> major annotations which I recently corrected and which will be
> published shortly, with God's favour.[71]

Beza's general impression of great discrepancy between D and the
usual text is of course correct. It is interesting to see that he con-
centrates on Luke's Gospel, despite the fact that there are consid-
erable differences in the other Gospels as well, let alone Acts. His
remark may have been influenced by the many particular readings
in Luke 6 and 22 and the large number of harmonising readings
in Luke, which often concern only a few words but also the re-
markable form of Jesus' genealogy in Luke 3:23–38. Beza appar-
ently links scribal corruption and heretical ideas, at least at the
level of a possibility.

Several reasons may be surmised for Beza's failure to recognise
the identity of his manuscript. He may have been led astray by
Stephanus' remark that his codex β΄ was "a very old copy collated
by friends in Italy".[72] It has to be recalled that the account of the
manuscript having been taken to the Council of Trent rests on

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[71] "Quatuor Euangeliorum et Actorum Apostolicarum Graecolatinum exem-
plar ex S. Irenaei coenobio Lugdunensi ante aliquot annos nactus, mutilum qui-
dem illud, et neque satis emendate ab initio ubique descriptum, neque ita ut
oportuit habitum, sicut ex paginis quibusdam diverso charactere insertis et
indocti cuiuspiam Graeci calogeri barbaris adscriptis alicubi notis apparet, ... Etsi
vero nulli melius quam vos ipsi quae sit huic exemplari fides habenda aestimave-
rint, hac de re tamen vos admonendos duxi, tantam a me in Lucae praesertim
Euangelio repertam esse inter hunc codicem et caeteros quantumvis veteres dis-
crepantiam ut, vitandae quorundam offensioni, asservandum potius quam publi-
candum existimem. In hac tamen non sententiarum sed vocum diversitate nihil
profecto comperi unde suspicari potuerim a veteribus illis haereticis fuisse depra-
vatum. Imo multa mihi videor deprehendisse magna observatione digna: quae-
dam etiam sic a recepta Scriptura discrepantia, ut tamen cum veterum quorun-
dam et Graecorum et Latinorum patrum scriptis consentiant; non pauca denique
quibus vetusta Latina editio corroboratur, quae omnia pro ingenii mei modulo
inter se comparata, et cum Syra et Arabica editione collata, in maiores meas
annotationes a me nuper emendat[as] et brevi, Deo favente, prodituras
congessi." Beza, *Correspondance* 22, pp. 245–246.

[72] 1550, preface: "exemplar vetustissimum, in Italia ab amicis collatum" / τὸ
ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀντιβληθὲν φίλων. Beza's annotation on John 6:56
(from 1556 onwards) is proof that he was aware of this information: he cites the
D reading as found in Stephanus' apparatus and adds: "the copy from which we
have taken this [reading] was collated in Italy" ("exemplar illud unde haec de-
sumpsimus, fuerat in Italia collatum").

scholarly reconstruction;[73] Beza could know nothing except that the manuscript was kept in Lyons before falling into his hands.[74]

More important is the evidence Beza could gather from the manuscript itself. Stephanus' margin presents only a very small collection of its readings, and this selection is riddled with all kinds of errors and reduction of information.[75] The book of collations contained some more readings, but probably not many.[76] In his manuscript Beza could thus observe a far greater number of readings not found in Stephanus' collection. Thus, even if Beza had asked whether his manuscript agreed closely with one of Stephanus' sources, his answer would have been ambiguous: there are some striking agreements but far more unique readings. Only posterity would discover how 'unique' the text of Codex Bezae actually is, and only this uniqueness, also observed in several of Stephanus' readings, allows the certain identification of the two sources.

Beza, however, made no thorough collation of the manuscript. His working method has to be kept in mind: in his own copy of his second edition, Beza simply noted the readings of D (05) and

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[73] See especially Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 36–39, who elaborates on the reconstruction by Wettstein (*Prolegomena*, p. 22; cf. *NTG* 1, p. 28, where Wettstein adds some information on earlier knowledge and use of D), and Scrivener, *Bezae Codex*, p. viii.

[74] Berger (*La Bible au seizième siècle*, p. 132) draws attention to the fact that Beza calls his manuscript 'Claromontanus' twice (instead of 'Lugdunensis'), namely in his last edition, at Luke 19:26 and Acts 20:3 (Beza does so at Matt 22:34 as well); he seems to suggest that Beza may have been aware of the link between Guillaume du Prat (bishop of Clermont) and his manuscript. This is not convincing (cf. Scrivener, *Bezae Codex*, p. viii n. 5).

[75] β´ (D) is indicated instead of η´ (L) at Matt 5:25; 9:20; 27:13; John 13:2 and instead of α´ (the Complutensian Polyglot) at Matt 10:25. At Luke 3:19 a puzzling error occurs when Stephanus' margin records a D reading ἐποίει for ἐποίησεν for which not even another manuscript can be adduced. Scrivener (Scrivener, *Bezae Codex*, p. x) surmises that Stephanus' β´ may stand for 'Erasmus' here (as α´ for the Complutensian). There may be an alternative explanation, for the same set of readings occurs at Luke 9:43, where Stephanus indicates only L as reading ἐποίει (cf. NA²⁷). As this reading is also supported by D, perhaps for some reason or another the attestation in D was placed at Luke 3:19; note also the similarity in expression between Luke 3:19 (περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν) and Luke 9:43 (ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησεν—𝔐).

[76] Evidence for this statement can only be gathered through Beza's first edition, and can therefore only be approximate. Beza cites between a half and three quarters of all the readings that can be found in Stephanus' margin, but only rarely do we encounter a reading that must derive from Henri Stephanus' collations but was not incorporated into his father's limited apparatus.

D (06) he found important for some reason or another.[77] The way the question of the identity of Stephanus' β´ and his own manuscript would occur to him, then, was through the comparison of the readings which he had previously deemed worthy to be mentioned in his annotations with the readings he—cursorily—assembled from D.

But as we have seen, already in his first edition he deprived the manuscripts from which he cited of their individuality by only referring to them in vague terms in his annotations (see above, p. 216). In the second edition this process is almost completed; nearly all expressions such as '[this] is read in the second manuscript' are changed into 'in some manuscript we read [this]'.[78] Therefore the readings of Stephanus' manuscript β´ mentioned in the annotations of his working copy, even when they agree with a reading he finds in the manuscript on his desk, can only rarely be identified as coming from a single, particular manuscript. When on the one hand Beza replaces earlier attestation by a reference to his 'very old manuscript',[79] he does not necessarily acknowledge identity of the two manuscripts that are involved; he probably finds it more interesting to mention the attestation of his own manuscript.[80] When on the other hand he adds the attestation of D, he does so unaware of the identity of Stephanus' β´ and D.[81]

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[77] See Backus, 'Das griechisch-lateinische Neue Testament', p. 194b; cf. Beza's letter cited above (p. 230).

[78] Exceptions can be found at Matt 5:11.25; 9:26; 12:25 (but anonymised in 1582); 14:2; 15:39; Mark 1:38; 12:13 (but anonymised in 1582).

[79] Together with the two (or three) instances mentioned by Wettstein, it concerns Matt 5:30.46; 28:9.12; Mark 4:24; 5:15.23.23; 6:2.31; 7:4.5; 8:25; Acts 6:10. Only at Matt 5:30, Beza's own 1565 annotation still speaks about 'the second manuscript'; at all other places, mention is made of 'some manuscript', 'one manuscript' etc.

[80] At Mark 14:36 Beza replaces attestation derived from Erasmus by a reference to D.

[81] Several instances can be added to the ones mentioned by Wettstein. Addition with explicit reference to D occurs at Matt 5:47; 10:23; 21:30; 27:34; Mark 1:2.5.10.11.12.16.20; 3:29; 6:11; 8:10.24.25; 10:50; 11:10.28; Luke 3:10; 4:8; 5:7; 6:5; 11:38; 16:19; John 8:27; Acts 4:25; 6:10.10; 15:20.29; 16:38–40. At Matt 6:1 (mentioned by Wettstein), 6:13 and 23:19, the number of manuscripts is raised, but there is no explicit reference to D. Stephanus' third edition does not indicate the readings discussed by Beza at Matt 21:30; Mark 10:50; 11:10.28; Acts 4:25. In three instances (Mark 1:5.11; 8:24), Beza is completely correct in adding the attestation of D, even according to Wettstein's standards, for they belong to the considerable number of readings mentioned in Stephanus' apparatus which are attested in D but for which β´ is not mentioned

He seems to have checked a number of readings and decided to mention D at a limited number of interesting places.[82] There is even no recognizable pattern, for instance substitution when Beza rejects the reading or addition when he approves of it.[83] The most surprising instances of addition are Luke 6:5[84] and Acts 16:38–40,[85] which concern long readings which do not make Beza ask whether they stem from the same manuscript. It has to be recalled, however, that comparably long readings occur at Mark 6:11 and Acts 15:20.29, where Stephanus' collation each time indicates two manuscripts. Moreover Beza cites long read-

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alongside the other attestation. As is well-known, the collation of D made 'in Italy' was incomplete, to say the least.

[82] Beza's reading of D is not always accurate; at Mark 8:10 he even commits the same error as Stephanus' friends, by giving Μαδεγαδά as its reading. D* actually reads ΜΕΛΕΓΑΔΑ, which has been corrected into ΜΑΓΑΙΔΑ (p. 311ᵛ; Scrivener, *Bezae Codex*, pp. x and 438 and Parker, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 132 and 296).

[83] Most instances of substitution occur in Mark 4–6, whereas addition is more evenly spread over Matthew–Acts.

[84] At Luke 6:5 Codex Bezae contains the famous story of a man working on the Sabbath, whom Jesus rebukes with the words "Man, if you know what you are doing, you are blessed; but if you do not know, you are accursed and a transgressor of the law" (cf. Metzger, *Text*, p. 50 and TC², p. 117; TC¹, p. 140). The reading is mentioned in Beza's annotations, at Luke 6:5, from his first edition onwards. In 1556, the reading is cited as in Stephanus' third edition, and introduced by Beza as "in the second copy we find added" ("in secundo exemplari ... addita reperimus"). After the Latin translation, he comments: "But these [words] are not read in the Church, nor do they indeed seem to me to taste of the majesty or even the truth of the Gospel" ("Sed haec in Ecclesia non leguntur, neque mihi quidem videntur sapere maiestatem aut etiam veritatem euangelicam"). An interesting parallel to Beza's judgement can be seen in a Greek Archimandrite's reaction on reading the story: "This cannot be; the Lord cursed no man" (recounted by Scrivener in *Bezae Codex*, p. li n. 1). In Beza's second edition, the annotation is edited to read 'in one copy ...' ('in uno exemplari ...'), and in the third the D reading is introduced as "in some copy and in my very old one we find added" ("in quodam exemplari et meo vetustissimo addita ... reperimus"). Neither in Stephanus' third edition nor in Beza's third edition is the fact mentioned that in D verse 5 itself is actually found after verse 10. In Rogerson, *History*, p. 116, David Parker mentions a Bezan edition of 1563, in which the D reading at Luke 6:5 would have been adopted into the text. This is a somewhat strange piece of information, for there is no Bezan edition of 1563 (not even a minor one), and Beza's annotation, already in 1556, shows that he was not likely to adopt it. In the minor edition of 1565 no trace of the D reading can be found.

[85] Wettstein, *Prolegomena*, p. 24 (and *NTG* 1, p. 30) cites Beza's annotation on Acts 16:38.

ings from D at Matt 20:28 and Acts 18:27 which were not known before.[86]

The lack of individuality also concerns his own manuscript; despite the fact that he calls it 'my very old manuscript', and sends it to Cambridge, apparently somewhat disconcerted by its idiosyncratic text,[87] in his annotations he treats it not as an entity with its own characteristics, but as just another source of readings.

Another perhaps more important question, indeed, is the use Beza made of D. In general, one can find exaggerated statements about the influence of 'Codex Bezae' on Beza's third edition. The mere fact that D (05) is known under Beza's name seems to lead commentators to assume that Beza made thorough collations of it and used it extensively for his revised edition.[88] More realistic conclusions are brought forward by Backus,[89] who mentions a few D readings that are approved of (without necessarily being adopted),[90] a few readings that influence Beza's Latin text,[91] and a few

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[86] On the D reading at Acts 18:27, Beza writes: "At this place my very old manuscript has many things which I would not want to be put in the text, as they do not occur anywhere else *as far as I know*, but I wanted to insert them here" ("Meus ... vetustiss[imus] codex habet hoc loco multa, quae quum nusquam alibi extare *sciam*, minime quidem contenderim in contextum reponenda, sed tamen hic adscribere volui"—from 1582 onwards; emphasis added).

[87] Besides the information contained in Beza's letter cited above, general statements on the manuscript are scarce. He characterises D (06) as 'better' ('accuratius') than D (05) in the preface of the fourth edition (p. vi^v).

[88] E.g. the editors' note on Beza's use of D (05) and D (06): "L'utilisation de ces deux manuscrits ... est la seconde nouveauté de cette troisième édition [besides the use of the Syriac and Arabic versions], car les éditions précédentes *se basaient* sur des manuscrits des XI–XIIIe siècles (ceux consultés par R. Estienne)" (*Correspondance* 23, p. 238; emphasis added). Even more astonishingly in the article 'Beza, Theodore' in *NCE* 2, c. 352a: "His writings include ... several editions of an annotated New Testament, *based on* an important manuscript Greek text (the Codex Bezae), ..." (emphasis added).

[89] See her brief discussion in *Reformed Roots*, p. 7; see also 'Das griechisch-lateinische Neue Testament', p. 194b. Backus often disregards other editions than Beza's last and is mainly interested in the way D is mentioned and not in the way it is used; therefore she sometimes does not observe Beza's approval of D readings prior to his actual possession of the manuscript (see the following notes).

[90] Backus mentions as D readings which are approved of in the annotations only: Mark 5:23 (the D reading ἐλθέ, ἵνα ἐλθών; this reading was however known and approved of by Beza as early as 1556; it even influenced his translation "*rogo* ut venias"); Acts 15:20 (the addition of καὶ ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖν; the reading is already mentioned in 1556,

that even influence his Greek text.[92] It should be added that in

based on Henri's collations; Beza does not bother to give the precise D reading
in 1582). To Backus's examples add Matt 27:34 (preferring οἶνον instead of
ὄξος from 1582 onwards); Mark 1:21 (preferring εἰσεπορεύοντο instead of
εἰσπορεύονται from 1582 onwards); Acts 4:15 (preferring ἀπαχθῆναι over
ἀπελθεῖν from 1582 onwards); Acts 7:58 (the addition of τινος, preferred from
1582 onwards).

[91] Backus mentions as D readings which influence Beza's translation, but not
his Greek text: Mark 9:16 ('inter vos', reflecting the D reading ἐν ὑμῖν instead
of πρὸς αὐτούς; however, Beza retains this Vulgate reading in all editions, ini-
tially because he thinks that it reflects πρὸς αὐτούς; similarly in Matt 23:37 he
translates πρὸς αὐτήν as 'ad te', remarking that the β΄ reading πρός σε has the
same meaning); Acts 2:46 ('domatim', more or less reflecting the D reading κατ᾽
οἴκους instead of κατ᾽ οἶκον; the D reading however makes Beza suggest in
1582 that κατ᾽ οἶκον means the same as the more usual κατ᾽ οἴκους). To
Backus's examples add Matt 6:1 (δικαιοσύνην adopted instead of ἐλεημοσύνην
(𝔐) into the translation from 1582 onwards and even into the Greek text, but
only in 1598); Matt 22:34 (ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν preferred instead of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό in 1598
only, but only adopted into the translation). At Mark 7:4 Beza translates ἀπὸ
ἀγορᾶς as "a foro *venientes*", following some Vulgate manuscripts; in a way, this
addition for clarity's sake reflects the D reading ὅταν ἔλθωσιν, which is however
already mentioned by Beza in 1556 on the basis of Stephanus' collations. At
Matt 23:37 modern editions print πρὸς αὐτήν and not προς αὐτήν as for in-
stance Stephanus, Beza and the Elzevirs did. Sixteenth and seventeenth-century
editors used the contracted form of the reflexive pronoun (αὑτοῦ etc.) when the
subject of the sentence is referred to (see de Jonge, 'Hoelzlin', pp. 114–116). It
seems that they thus transferred a Latin phenomenon, the distinction between
'suus' etc. and 'eius' etc., to Greek. Sometimes the editorial choice was by no
means obvious; in 1 Cor 15:25 for example Beza alternated between αὑτοῦ
(translated in 1556) and αὐτοῦ (adopted from 1565 onwards). In the first
option, the words ἄχρις οὗ ἂν θῇ πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αυτου
are understood as "until he [Christ] has put all enemies under his [αὑτοῦ:
Christ's] feet"; in the second option, under influence of verse 27, they are un-
derstood as "until he [God] has put all enemies under his [αὐτοῦ: Christ's] feet".

[92] Backus mentions as D readings which are adopted into the Greek text:
Mark 8:24 (the shorter reading without ὅτι and ὁρῶ is adopted in 1582 when it
is confirmed by D; however Beza's preference for it goes back to his first
edition); Acts 14:17. However at Acts 14:17 Beza's Greek text did not change in
1582 or later. In a new annotation in 1582, Beza mentions the D reading οὐρα-
νόθεν ὑμῖν instead of Stephanus' reading, derived from Erasmus, οὐρανόθεν ἡμῖν
(see ASD VI–2, p. 355b). Beza actually prefers the reading αὐτοῖς οὐρανόθεν
which he infers from the Syriac and the Arabic. Perhaps Backus intends Acts
11:17 or Acts 14:8 (see below). To her examples add Mark 5:19 (καὶ ὅτι
ἠλέησέ σε instead of καὶ ἠλέησέ σε from 1582 onwards); Luke 5:7 (the
addition of παρά τι from 1582 onwards); Acts 4:25 (the addition of Πνεύματι
ἁγίῳ from 1582 onwards); Acts 4:27 (the addition of ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ from
1582 onwards); Acts 11:17 (the omission of δέ from 1582 onwards); Acts 14:8
(περιεπεπατήκει instead of περιπεπατήκει from 1582 onwards; Beza prefers
the augmented form of the pluperfect and in his annotation refers to his
manuscript, but D actually has ΠΕΡΕΙΠΕΠΑΤΗΚΕΙ, an itacistic spelling of the
unaugmented form; p. 472ᵛ; cf. Wettstein, *NTG* a.h.l. and Scrivener, *Bezae
Codex*, p. 377).

many cases D reinforces the attestation of readings already known to Beza;[93] in a few others, D readings are used to condone earlier, conjectural decisions.[94] In a few instances, Beza changes his opinion on a reading *despite* the fact that he sees it confirmed by D.[95] In some cases, finally, it is not clear whether Beza actually consulted D.[96]

In conclusion, the Greek text actually changed little, while the most notable role of the Cantabrigiensis was to provide Beza with additional readings to draw upon for his annotations, especially as an additional means to explain the origin of numerous Vulgate readings. It has to be noted however that other sources were used by Beza in similar ways.[97]

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[93] An important example is found at Mark 1:2; see below, p. 285.

[94] At Luke 3:36 (the omission of τοῦ Καϊνάν not in the Greek text, but in the translation in all editions) the 'testimony' of D mentioned in 1582 reinforces a conjectural decision taken earlier (see below, p. 295). Similarly in Luke 21:32 (the addition of ταῦτα not in the Greek text but in all translations), the attestation in D (and the Syriac) confirms an earlier, conjectural decision.

[95] At Matt 28:12, in his first two editions, Beza expresses a preference for the D reading ἀργύριον ἱκανόν which he knows from Stephanus' third edition, without actually adopting it. From 1582 onwards he maintains the common reading ἀργύρια ἱκανά though he mentions 'my very old manuscript' explicitly for the reading he preferred before. Similarly at Mark 2:26 the omission of ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ (τοῦ) ἀρχιερέως is suggested—though not adopted—from 1582 onwards, but the idea was already mentioned as a conjecture in 1556 and 1565 in the important annotation on Acts 7:16 (see below, p. 292).

[96] At Matt 1:23, Beza adopts καλέσεις instead of καλέσουσιν, a choice which already lies behind his translation 'vocabis' in 1556 (see below, p. 289). He knows the reading from Stephanus' collations. In 1582 or later, no reference is made to D. Similarly at Matt 2:17, Beza prefers the reading ὑπὸ κυρίου which he knows from Stephanus' collations (and thus, as in Matt 1:23, indirectly from D). His translation even reflects it, though it is not adopted into the Greek text. In 1582 or later no mention is made of D. At Matt 26:72 (λέγων instead of ὅτι after ὅρκου) Beza includes 'dicens' in his translation from 1582 onwards, but (1) the reading is mentioned in 1565 already (it can be found in Stephanus' margin); (2) no explicit reference to D is made in 1582 or later; and (3) 'dicens' is put in italics, that is, the word is marked as an addition compared to the Greek text, intended to clarify the meaning.

[97] Though a thorough investigation of the use Beza made of Codex Claromontanus (D 06) has to be left to others, a few aspects may be noted here. The manuscript is regularly mentioned in the 1582 annotations, from Rom 1:13 to the subscription of Hebrews. In many instances it is referred to in conjunction with ancient translations or other Greek manuscripts. Beza's indication of the manuscript's readings are not always precise (e.g. at Rom 8:32, ὃς οὐδέ for ὅς γε, leaving the subsequent omission of οὐκ to be understood by the reader). He tends to concentrate on the readings of the first hand, leaving aside the many corrections that are found in the manuscript. Some influence of Claromontanus on Beza's Greek text can be detected at Eph 6:7, where the reading ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ

9.5 TEXTUAL CRITICISM

As far as Beza's text-critical reasoning is concerned, the elements we have seen in Erasmus' *Annotationes* can be found in Beza's work as well. He could assume scribal errors based on abbreviations and ligatures,[98] homoeoteleuton,[99] etc. The awareness of what would later become the *lectio difficilior* we observed at work in Erasmus' annotations is still there, but less prominently. The impression that can be obtained from Beza's annotations is that he valued contextual aptness more highly than the subtleties of text-critical explanations.[100]

A striking feature of Beza's annotations is the frequency with which the assumption of marginal glosses is used as a text-critical tool.[101] Beza's most important Catholic critic Gregory Martin

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is adopted (against τῷ κυρίῳ), but it should be noted that Beza refers to four 'manuscripts' (which includes the Complutensian Polyglot!), the Vulgate and the Syriac as well. At Col 1:24, Beza adopts the D reading ὃς νῦν χαίρω (actually D*), as it solves the problem of the connection between verses 23 and 24 he had wrestled with in earlier editions. This decision illustrates his preference for what he regards to be the stylistically best reading; his eclecticism at this point stands behind the KJV translation "who now rejoice ..."

[98] E.g. on Luke 11:42–47, he explains the variation in the Vulgate between 'qui' and 'quia' by assuming that the 'compendium' (which is printed in the margin) for οἱ was misread as ὅτι. This idea, by the way, leads to a conjecture, for the reading οἱ is unattested in Greek. Though Beza explicitly states that he does not want to change the text against the old manuscripts, his Latin translation shows some instances of 'qui' in his diverse editions (verse 43 in 1556; verses 44.46.47 in 1598). It is also adopted, on similar grounds, in Matt 23:14 (1565 only).

[99] E.g. in the annotation on Matt 12:21 (from 1565 onwards; see below, p. 291) and in the annotation on 1 Cor 10:28 (from 1582 onwards). This last annotation shows that Beza actually uses a larger notion of homoeoteleuton errors than modern textual criticism. It can include the scribal addition of words as well, such as in the instance of 1 Cor 10:28: the ὁμοιοτέλευτον of the word συνείδησιν, which occurs at the end of verses 25, 26 and 28, led scribes not only to the accidental dropping of verse 26, but also to its addition after verse 28.

[100] When for instance he confronts the readings εἰς ὑπόκρισιν and ὑπὸ κρίσιν in Jas 5:12, Beza chooses the former, not so much for its attestation in one of Stephanus' manuscripts and in the Vulgate as for its contextual agreement with verse 9; he does not deny that the other reading can yield a good meaning, "but considered should be what is said more suitably" ("sed spectandum tamen quid magis apposite dicatur"—from 1556 onwards).

[101] E.g. at Acts 20:28 the origin of the 𝔐 (but not TR) reading κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ. In his annotation (from 1556 onwards), Beza supposes three stages in the transmission of this reading: 1. the original reading (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) τοῦ Θεοῦ (TR and MCT) 2. the marginal gloss τοῦ Κυρίου, which points out against the

already complained that Beza used the (supposed) margins of old manuscripts to explain every part of the text that did not please him;[102] as we will see, one actually notices a certain one-sidedness in Beza's text-critical explanations, especially where the conjectures are concerned.

Beza's attitude towards the Vulgate differed somewhat from Erasmus'. Beza's project was less than was the case with Erasmus' the text-critical and philological correction of the Vulgate. Since more readings had become known, Beza could more often than Erasmus verify that divergent Vulgate readings actually reflect attested Greek readings. In the preface of his first edition, Beza remarked that Erasmus correctly criticised the Vulgate translator for inconsistency. But Erasmus' textual criticisms, when he claimed that the translator did not follow the Greek, were not always justified:

> But then, how unjustly did he [Erasmus] at many places criticise the old translator as differing from the Greek. He differed, I acknowledge, from those copies which he himself had obtained, but at several places we discovered that the translation he criticised leans on the authority of other manuscripts, and even very old ones. Therefore at some places we noticed that the reading of the old translator, although it does not agree with our Greek copies, fits much better, so that he seems to have followed a more correct copy.[103]

'anthropomorphists' that 'God' in this verse refers to the Son—for he is said to have obtained the Church 'with his own blood', διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος (TR and 𝔐)—; 3. the gloss adopted into the text, with καί added (𝔐).

[102] Martin writes on Beza: "... he biteth at the text, and would change it according to his imagination, if he might: which is to proud an enterprise for Beza, and smal reuerence of the holy scriptures, so to call the very text into controuersie, that whatsoeuer pleaseth not him, crept out of the margent into the text, which is his common and almost his only coniecture" (*Discouerie*, p. a vi[r]).

[103] "Deinde quam immerito multis locis Veterem interpretem reprehendit, tanquam a graecis dissentientem? Dissentiebat, fateor, ab illis exemplaribus quae ille nactus erat, sed non uno loco comperimus aliorum codicum, et quidem vetustissimorum, authoritate eam interpretationem niti quam ille reprehendit. Quin etiam aliquot locis animadvertimus Veteris interpretis lectionem, quanvis cum nostris graecis exemplaribus non conveniat interdum, tamen multo melius quadrare, nempe quod emendatius aliquod exemplar sequutus esse videatur." 1556, p. Aa.ii[r] and *Correspondance* 2, pp. 226–227.

These words sound as a vindication of the Vulgate, and were certainly interpreted as such by Gregory Martin.[104] Beza even stated that his method in translation comprised two factors: fidelity to the Greek text and to the received Vulgate edition.[105] It may therefore seem that Beza wanted to retain the Vulgate by only correcting its obvious shortcomings,[106] but two considerations speak against this impression. First, Beza was often as critical of the Vulgate as Erasmus, even in the 1556 edition. He pointed out that the Vulgate was not accepted by the learned, for it was in a corrupted state internally, and often deviated from the Greek, and was a lacklustre translation.[107] In his last edition, when the original 1556 preface, which was retained in the letter-prefaces of the next three editions, was finally replaced, the remarks on Erasmus' unjust criticism of the Vulgate were dropped and only Beza's negative statements on the 'old translation' remained.[108] Though Beza still affirmed that the Vulgate should be retained as much as possible, the impression is that Beza's opinion had become somewhat harsher. Second, Beza's translation actually shows that he did not simply correct the Vulgate or retain as much of it as possible; he went his own way, translating the Greek text with the Vulgate and Erasmus as his (fallible) guides.[109]

In conclusion, his words on the Vulgate should be regarded as an expression of prudence, not unlike Erasmus' *dissimulatio*. According to the consensus in learned circles hinted at by Beza, the Vulgate had serious shortcomings.[110] Nevertheless, the Vulgate continued to function as Sacred Scripture for many contemporaries, Catholics and Protestants alike.[111]

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[104] See the introduction to the Rheims New Testament (1582), pp. b. iv^r–v.

[105] 1556, p. Aa.ii^v and *Correspondance* 2, p. 228.

[106] Backus, 'Das griechisch-lateinische Neue Testament', p. 193.

[107] 1556, p. Aa.i^v and *Correspondance* 2, p. 225.

[108] 1598, preface (the first of two unnumbered pages).

[109] Regrettably the study of Beza's translational method and of the revisions in his diverse editions fall outside the scope of this study.

[110] Cf. Michael O'Connor, 'Cajetan', pp. 88–89, who observes the emergence of such a consensus in the second decade of the sixteenth century.

[111] One of Beza's correspondents, Girolamo Zanchi, expressed his attachment to the Vulgate (see *Correspondance* 22, p. 69 (no. 1469)). For Calvin too, the Vulgate remained very important.

Beza also used Erasmus' technique of inferring readings (and preferring them).[112] Somewhat surprisingly Beza also inferred Greek readings on the basis of Erasmus' Latin translation. The explanation however is simple: such annotations address translational issues, not text-critical ones. The technique of inferring readings plays an almost didactical role: in not agreeing with the received Greek text the inferred reading shows that the translation is wrong. This didactical use is prominent in Beza's annotations and demonstrates his concern for great precision in translation through attention to the nuances of Greek and Latin.[113]

Remarkable is also Beza's harmonising way of reading the Gospels. Not only in the translation, but also in his choice of variant readings, Beza tended to prefer the reading that brings the Gospel accounts closer together. Sometimes he still analysed, in line with Erasmus' approach, variant readings in one Gospel as additions derived from another, but when there was more at stake, namely the consensus of the Gospel accounts, his approach

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[112] For a striking example, see Beza's discussion of Matt 8:30 (see below, p. 301 and my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation', pp. 117–118); Matt 10:25 (see below, p. 261); Luke 9:53 (see below, p. 325 and 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation', p. 118).

[113] For instance at Mark 6:46, Beza renders ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοῖς ('having taken leave of them') as "quum amandasset eos" ("when he had sent them away") choosing a Latin verb that expresses the nuance of definitive separation. Therefore he criticises the Vulgate's and Erasmus' rendering "quum dimisisset eos" ("when he had let them go") and remarks that it reflects ἀπολύσας or ἀποπεμψάμενος. Another example: at Mark 6:40, Beza translates πρασιαὶ πρασιαί as 'per areolas' ('by plots') and remarks: "the Vulgate [has] 'per partes' [sic; it has 'in partes'] ['by parts'], that is κατὰ μέρη; Erasmus 'divisi in viridaria' ['divided into gardens'], that is κατὰ κήπους" ("Vulgata 'per partes': id est κατὰ μέρη. Erasmus 'divisi in viridaria', id est κατὰ κήπους"; from 1556 onwards). At Mark 6:48, Beza translates ἐν τῷ ἐλαύνειν as "in *navigio* provehendo" ("advancing *the boat*"; '*navigio*' added in 1565, supplying τὸ πλοῖον) and criticises the Vulgate's (and Erasmus') 'in remigando' ('rowing') by commenting "that is, ἐν τῷ ἐρέσσειν, or κωπηλατεῖν" ("i. ἐν τῷ ἐρέσσειν, vel κωπηλατεῖν"). The same technique is used very often by Beza, for instance in the annotations on Mark 6:51.52.53.

was harmonising.[114] Not surprisingly, Beza's harmonistic approach sometimes led to conjectural emendation.

9.6 CRITICAL?

Beza belonged to the first generation of critics who used some kind of 'critical edition'. It seems that almost everything that can go wrong, did go wrong. Wettstein points out a common vice in Beza's annotations, namely that he did not perceive the difficulties with a 'negative apparatus', as it is called nowadays: he often naively assumed that the manuscripts that were not mentioned as supporting a reading supported the text itself, and did not consider the possibility that a manuscript may be defective or may have yet another variant reading.[115] As can be expected, he also underestimated the selectivity of Stephanus' apparatus.[116] Coupled with his failure to recognise that each of Stephanus' sources (except the Complutensian Polyglot) actually covers only part of the New Testament, the impression prevails that Beza made not

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[114] For instance at Mark 6:22, Beza knows the reading τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρῳδιάδος (albeit in the mistaken form τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἡρῳδιάδος because of the way the reading of codex L is recorded by Stephanus; cf. Stephanus' third edition a.h.l.), which would mean that the girl is actually Herod's daughter and named Herodias herself. Beza retains the reading τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρῳδιάδος and dismisses the other reading for two reasons: according to Matthew (Matt 14:6; Beza does not mention Mark 6:17.24) Herodias is the girl's mother, and according to extra-biblical sources her father is not Herod (Antipas) but Philip.

[115] See Wettstein, *NTG* 2, p. 868.

[116] Examples are numerous of Beza stating that some reading is found in all manuscripts, when in fact Stephanus' collation is simply too small. At Matt 18:29 Beza notes that the Vulgate has no equivalent to the (𝔐) reading εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, and writes: "... which we find however in all our old Greek manuscripts" ("quae tamen in omnibus nostris vetustis codicibus Graecis reperimus"); the words are not found, for instance, in D and L (Stephanus' β´ and η´). In Mark 10:29 Erasmus suspects the 𝔐 reading ἢ γυναῖκα to be a harmonisation with Matt 19:29 and Luke 18:29; Beza remarks: "But we find it in all copies" ("Reperimus tamen in omnibus exemplaribus"), though the words are not found in D (Stephanus' β´). Beza is not alone in this naiveté; in an article on the sources of Calvin's New Testament, T.H.L. Parker wonders why Calvin in a later addition to his commentary on 1 Corinthians states that the Greek manuscripts do not vary at 1 Cor 15:51, despite Erasmus' explicit statement that they do ('Calvin's New Testament', p. 292; repeated in Parker, *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries*, p. 116). The answer may be found in the margin of Stephanus' third edition, which is blank here.

only limited use of the materials he had at his disposal, but even fundamentally uncritical use.

It does not seem useful or necessary to assume that Beza wilfully distorted text-critical facts. Text-critical naiveté and lack of method and standards are better explanations, especially when it is realised that Beza's true interests had little to do with textual criticism. A good example is found in Beza's way of dealing with the *Johannine Comma*. When discussing the fate of 1 John 5:7–8, Edward Gibbon writes that Beza retained the *Comma* by "deliberate falsehood, or strange misapprehension".[117] From Beza's annotation it appears that at 1 John 5:7, Beza followed Stephanus' typographical error[118] and *therefore* assumed the presence of the *Comma* in some of Stephanus' manuscripts, which is uncritical, but as such in line with similar assessments made elsewhere by Beza. Even when he writes 'we read' ('legimus'), this is simply his usual way of presenting Robert Stephanus' text or readings from Henri Stephanus' collations. Thus Gibbon's suggestion of 'deliberate falsehood' is not necessary, but 'strange misapprehension' there was, *text-critically*, which was probably inspired by Beza's *theological* endorsement of the longer reading.

In conclusion, the general picture that arises from Beza's use of his sources is not very reassuring. From secondary literature, the impression may be obtained that Beza did independent and thorough collation of a large number of manuscripts,[119] but the real state of affairs which can be observed in the annotations is different. It may be safely concluded that most of Beza's text-critical information was second-hand, that is, derived from Henri Stepha-

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[117] On 1 John 5:7–8 (Gibbon, *History* II, p. 443 n. 120 (Chapter 37): 'The three witnesses have been established in our Greek Testaments by the prudence of Erasmus; the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors; the typographical fraud, or error, of Robert Stephens in the placing a crotchet; and the deliberate falsehood, or strange misapprehension, of Theodore Beza').

[118] The opening sign for the omission is put before ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ and its closing sign immediately after it, instead of after ἐν τῇ γῇ. The omission itself is signalled in seven manuscripts; an eighth manuscript, Stephanus' ιε´ (min. 82), should have been included; in a positive apparatus only the Complutensian Polyglot could have been indicated.

[119] E.g. Metzger, *Text*, p. 105: "[Beza's] editions contain a certain amount of textual information drawn from several Greek manuscripts which Beza had collated himself ..."; Muller, in McKim, *Handbook*, p. 136: "Beza collated the best codices available to him ..."

nus' collations and Robert or Henri Stephanus' editions.[120] The Syriac and Arabic were also used indirectly.[121] Even in the case of the two manuscripts he had on his desk for several years (D 05 and D 06), his use of them cannot be regarded as (thorough) 'collation' but only as (haphazard) 'consultation'.[122] Nowhere do Beza's annotations convey the impression that he did a real collation of two texts. He actually consulted his sources only at places of interest, prompted by translational and/or exegetical difficulties, or simply when he was revising his New Testament for a new edition. In general, manuscripts hardly have any individuality; they seem to be nothing more than a collection of readings. The only quality of a manuscript that can enhance the authority of a reading taken from it is its age, but here only two categories seem to exist: 'old' and 'very old'. All manuscripts cited by Stephanus are called 'old' or 'very old', epithets which sometimes even include the Complutensian Polyglot,[123] whereas Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D 05) and Codex Claromontanus (D 06) are usually called 'very old'.[124] In short, not much progress had

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[120] Wettstein in his *NTG* correctly describes readings derived from Beza's annotations which cannot be found in Stephanus' editions as attested "in one of Stephanus' manuscripts, according to Beza", etc. ("in uno Codice Stephani, teste Beza"; e.g. on Matt 5:39 τρέψον; cf. Matt 21:30; 23:9.33; 24:9; 27:44; Mark 1:36; 7:9; Rom 1:10; 16:8).

[121] Tremellius's large edition contains a column with the Syriac text transcribed in Hebrew characters, but Beza rarely needed to look at it, as Tremellius also provides a literal Latin translation. Junius's small books only contain a Latin translation of the Arabic, with some notes.

[122] The only really critical remark can be found in Beza's letter to the University of Cambridge cited above (p. 229), in which he comments on the differences between the text of D (05) and the common text (especially in Luke), stating that he found no trace of heretical corruption, but instead several agreements with the patristic readings and the Vulgate.

[123] E.g. at Matt 9:36 (ἐσκυλμένοι); 10:12 (λέγοντες, εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ); 12:32 (ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι); 18:39 (the omission of πάντα); 20:26 (ἔσται); 24:18 (τὸ ἱμάτιον); 24:31 (καί after σάλπιγγος). The fact that the Complutensian Polyglot is referred to as a manuscript confirms that Beza's use of manuscript evidence was haphazard.

[124] Cf. Stephanus' preface to his third edition. Scholars interested in the rhetoric of our craft may notice that manuscripts are usually called 'old' when their readings are rejected, whereas they often become 'very old' when their readings are regarded more favourably. Besides, it has to be noted that the typical sixteenth-century reference to '(very) old manuscripts' on title pages and in prefaces has two aspects: it is of course propaganda made by the publisher, but it may also reflect the humanist's conviction of having returned to the (presumably pristine) sources. Moreover, no good scholarly standards of measuring the anti-

been made since Erasmus' day. Beza's work on the Greek text of
the New Testament has to be characterised as circumstantial.

Beza's attitude as a textual critic has been described as conser-
vative,[125] and this judgement is largely correct. He took Stepha-
nus' text and changed it only occasionally. The printed text al-
ready functioned as 'received'. Even a typical Erasmian reading,
transmitted by Stephanus, can be called 'the received reading'
('lectio recepta').[126] For the few changes he made his reasons are
mostly exegetical, and Beza explicitly indicated that he was un-
willing to change the text on the basis of conjecture only.[127]

In accordance with his time, Beza never posed the text-critical
problem of the Greek New Testament as a problem in its own
right. As a consequence, when he mentioned variant readings in
his annotations, more often than not he let two or more readings
happily exist alongside each other. Especially in his early editions,
he simply wanted to inform the reader of the existence of variant
readings without actually making a choice for one of them. He
left the judgement to the reader. Moreover, as we have seen in
Erasmus' work, multiple readings are often possibilities which can
even enhance the understanding of the text. In this respect Beza
as well as Erasmus differed drastically from later critics for whom

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quity of a manuscript had yet been developed (cf. Erasmus' estimation of the
Codex Reuchlini in the 1527 addition to the annotation 'Qui aperit et nemo
claudit' on Rev 3:7).

[125] E.g. the editors' remark in Beza, *Correspondance* 2, p. 230 n. 9.

[126] One example out of many is Beza's decision at Mark 11:32 to retain ἐάν
in ἀλλὰ ἐὰν εἴπωμεν. A direct line can be drawn from 'received reading' to
'received text' and thus from Beza's terminology to Heinsius's well-known
words in the preface of the second Elzevir edition (1633): "textum ergo habes,
nunc ab omnibus receptum: ..." ("Thus you have the text which is now received
by all; ..."). These words are more than what Metzger calls "a more or less
casual phrase advertising the edition (what modern publishers might call a
'blurb')" (*Text*, p. 106); they express the conviction held by the editor about the
tradition in which the Elzevir editions stand. Even the ever-repeated idea that
the term *Textus Receptus* stems from this Elzevir preface is dubious. The epithet
'receptus' actually is the obvious term to use; the combination 'textus receptus'
is not necessarily restricted to this preface, as many seem to think, and the idea
itself to consider one form of text as 'received' goes back to the sixteenth centu-
ry and Beza's notion of 'the received reading'.

[127] E.g. in the preface to the first edition: "... we maintained this restriction
in accordance with the warning not to change a tittle on the basis of reason or
pure conjecture" ("... hunc modum tenuimus, ut admonitione contenti, ex inge-
nio aut simplici coniectura ne apicem quidem mutaremus"—p. Aa.ii[v] and *Cor-
respondance* 2, p. 229). On these words, see further below, p. 320.

every occurrence of variant readings represents a puzzle that must be solved. Beza's approach should not be confused with indifference; it simply reflects a traditional way of dealing with the existence of variant readings. Neither does it exclude occasional discussions of variant readings which could pass as modern contributions. Here, however, the impression prevails that Beza was somewhat less 'modern' than Erasmus. The reason is that Beza tended to look for the 'best reading', the reading that fits best, whereas Erasmus far more often than Beza tried to explain the origin of a textual corruption. The quality of a reading was sought by Beza in its exegetical aspects. Put in modern terms: while both critics fell hopelessly short on external criticism, they concentrated on internal criticism, but in different ways: Erasmus' main criterion was a local-genealogical principle, whereas Beza's main criterion was contextual 'appropriateness'.

There is another aspect which Beza and Erasmus had in common and which partly explains their attitude towards the Greek text. In modern text-critical handbooks, the New Testament editions of both scholars are almost exclusively mentioned for their influence on the Greek text. In reality however their main interest lay in its (Latin) translation, not primarily in the Greek text itself. In Beza's case the Latin translation even had to wait nine years before being accompanied by a Greek text.[128]

For both scholars, textual criticism of the Greek text was a by-product of a more important part of their work. It is here that a subtle difference between both may be observed. In Erasmus' case, the composition of annotations on the Vulgate eventually led to the publication of a new Latin translation. In Beza's case, a new translation was central to his project from the start, though it was obvious throughout that it should be accompanied by copious annotations. This difference between their projects may partly explain the differences in their text-critical approaches noted above. For Erasmus, the confrontation of the Vulgate text with the mainly Byzantine manuscripts meant that text-critical problems were bound to come up.[129] As the *Annotationes* amply show,

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[128] Not counting, of course, the pirated Barbirius–Courteau edition of 1559–1560.

[129] Cf. the decision chart with regard to Erasmus' *Annotationes* (above, p. 25).

Erasmus was too good a critic to ignore this aspect. Beza, in his new translation, could limit himself to Stephanus' Greek text as the one to be translated. In so far as this limitation to Stephanus' text without calling into question its text-critical basis was a deliberate choice Beza's work can be seen as conservative.

In one important respect, however, it is not correct to call Beza's attitude 'conservative'. As a conjectural critic he went even further than Erasmus, as the following chapters will show.

BEZA'S CONJECTURES (1)

If there were some room for conjecture here, I would say ...—Beza[1]

The generally poor quality of Beza's textual criticism as far as his use of sources is concerned does not preclude his making conjectures on the Greek text. It may even seem that textual criticism (in the modern sense) and conjectural emendation are relatively independent in his work. As we will see, there is a remarkable paradox in Beza's editions: though he professes time and again not to change the text lightly or out of mere conjecture, he offers at the same time an astonishingly high number of conjectures.

It is not possible, even within the scope of this study, to discuss them all. A number of them will be presented and discussed here in order to find answers to several questions. First, what kind of conjectures is Beza inclined to make? In other words, which types of textual problems prompt him to search for conjectural solutions? Second, what status do these solutions have? Are they taken up into the text, or left in the annotations as mere proposals? Third, how can the paradox between an outspoken reluctance towards conjectural emendation and its generous practice be understood? Can Beza's general view of the text be (re)constructed so as to explain both his audacity and his temerity?

Beza's conjectures can be analysed according to two dimensions: their degree of 'conjecturality' and the reasons for which they are proposed. The former factor will be addressed first, as Beza's practise is highly uniform, with some notable exceptions. The latter shows a wide range, as can be expected. As we will see, Beza's reasoning differs from Erasmus' in many respects, though the lessons learned from his *Annotationes* are not forgotten.

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[1] "Si quis hic esset coniecturae locus, dicerem ..." (in the annotation on Luke 22:17–20; from 1582 onwards). Similar expressions are found in the annotations on Mark 1:2 (from 1582 onwards); Acts 23:30 (from 1556 onwards); 1 Cor 2:9 (from 1556 onwards); 1 Cor 15:5 (from 1589 onwards); Heb 11:37 (from 1582 onwards).

10.1 VARIOUS DEGREES OF CONJECTURALITY

Beza's conjectures on the Greek text betray a wide range of 'conjecturality', that is, with respect to their attestation. For many of them, no attestation of whatever kind is known, but some have indirect attestation, either patristic or versional. Similar to Erasmus, Beza sometimes inferred readings from the Vulgate[2] or, in his later editions, from the Syriac. Beza himself was not always well-informed on the attestation of readings he mentioned or even adopted.[3] Some readings taken over from the Complutensian Polyglot may actually be conjectures, but Beza could not know this.

Beza's conjectures also differ in status. In general, the conjectures are not adopted into the Latin or Greek text, but play a role only at the level of the annotations, though even here their status differs. It is not even clear whether Beza always endorses the conjectures he brings forward. Some conjectural readings are mentioned almost in passing in the annotations, while some others are advanced and discussed without Beza expressing a clear opinion on their value. Despite his reluctance to alter the text, the Greek text is actually changed in some rare cases.[4] A somewhat greater number of conjectural readings are adopted into the Latin translation, even when the Greek text is not changed. Reuss recognised correctly that these readings are relevant for the evaluation of Beza's textual criticism, though the reason he indicated for the incongruities may seem somewhat too harsh: "in order not to provide too much of an opportunity for the railleries of frenzied and ignorant men."[5] Beza obviously felt more free to change his translation than to change the Greek text; apparently some textu-

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[2] See for example Beza's use of the Vulgate at Matt 10:25 (see below, p. 261) and Luke 2:22 (see below, p. 293).

[3] The most important example of an indirectly attested reading adopted into the Greek text is found at Rom 7:6 (see below, pp. 274–279).

[4] For example at Matt 10:25 (see below, p. 261); John 18:20 (see below, p. 273) and Gal 4:17 (see below, p. 279).

[5] Reuss, *Bibliotheca*, p. 86 ("... ne nimiis hominim vecordium et ignorantium cavillationibus ansam praeberet"). In fact, the Greek and Latin texts of Beza's editions can be evaluated in much the same way as Erasmus' collation of the (mainly) Byzantine Greek text with the Vulgate. Some incongruities are translational in nature, others text-critical.

al problems were so important to him that he decided to elevate their solution from the annotation to the Latin text.[6]

There is yet another dimension of 'conjecturality' in Beza's annotations. Occasionally Beza rewrites some words of the Greek text without necessarily making a conjecture, just as Erasmus did. For instance on 1 Cor 6:5, he writes:

> Between his brothers, ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. The Vulgate has 'between his brother and a brother',[7] so that it may seem to have added καὶ ἀδελφοῦ, unless we prefer to have it included in the word μέσον, for a middle necessarily is between at least two extremes. The sentence would be clearer if ἀδελφῶν were written.[8]

Such annotations are somewhere between a conjecture and an exegetical remark.[9] In this case, the correction is adopted in the translation.[10] Not surprisingly, remarks such as 'the sentence would be clearer if …' often became conjectures at some moment in their reception history.

10.2 PHILOLOGICAL

Beza regularly observes that things have gone wrong in the transmission of names transliterated from Hebrew or Aramaic. On 'Boanerges' (Mark 3:17) he writes:

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[6] A significant example is found at John 18:13–24 (see below, pp. 304–305).

[7] Beza's Vulgate reading itself represents a secondary correction; the normal reading is only 'inter fratrem suum' (cf. vg[st] and vg[ww]).

[8] "Inter fratres suos, ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. Vulg[ata] *inter fratrem suum et fratrem*, ut videri possit addidisse καὶ ἀδελφοῦ; nisi malimus hoc includi in vocabulo μέσον. quoniam necessario medium est inter duo minimum extrema. Planior tamen esset oratio si ἀδελφῶν scriptum esset." From 1565 onwards (there is no note in 1556) αὐτοῦ instead of αὐτοῦ is printed in agreement with the editorial conventions of Beza's time (see above, p. 235 n. 91). For Erasmus' annotation on the same problem, see above, p. 180.

[9] As in Rom 8:15, Baljon simply surmises a Bezan conjecture, citing even part of Beza's annotation. Because of the ambiguity of the alternative conjecture ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ (for to whom does αὐτοῦ refer in that case?), Baljon prefers 'Beza's conjecture' (*Tekst*, p. 53). He even adopts the conjecture in his *NTG* (reading ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ).

[10] As the annotation does not occur in the first edition, it may seem to have been written in order to justify the translation that was already adopted.

You rarely find any foreign term written in Greek characters with
out corruption.[11]

At Matt 27:33 he wants to read Γολγολθᾶ instead of Γολγοθᾶ,
though the latter is found "in all books [manuscripts]".[12] In short,
where transliterations are concerned, Beza usually does not alter
the Greek, or even his translation, but the manuscript tradition
has no authority for him on this point. This opinion may also
explain why he adopts Βελιάλ in 2 Cor 6:15 without even discus-
sing various readings.

The meaning of words can be so obscure or unfitting that Beza
proposes a conjecture. A simple example is found at Mark 5:38:
in 1582, Beza suggests that ὀλολύζοντας may be more correct
than ἀλαλάζοντας. The reason is the context, which denotes
grief, whereas ἀλαλάζω according to Beza denotes joy. He even
compares it to the French 'la la' and the Latin 'laetitia'. Though
he does not mention it, his idea goes back to Camerarius' remark
that the Vulgate reading 'eiulantes' (which of course reflects the
obvious meaning of ἀλαλάζοντας in this context) perhaps reflects
ὀλολύζοντας.[13] In his last edition, Beza transmits some informa-
tion provided by Isaac Casaubon, according to which Plutarch
uses ἀλαλάζω in the same meaning as ὀλολύζω.[14]

In his comment on Rom 1:30, Beza criticises the Vulgate
because of the translation 'Deo odibiles' ('those who deserve to be
hated by God') for θεοστυγεῖς. It is not only bad Latin, according
to Beza, but the context requires an active meaning for θεοστυ-
γεῖς.[15] Beza's translation is 'Dei osores' ('those who hate God').
In 1589, Beza proposes to read θεοστύγεις, in order to assure the

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[11] "... vix ullum peregrinum vocabulum invenias Graecis litteris incorrupte
scriptum" (from 1556 onwards). In the first two editions, the remark concerns
the o that is superfluous in Βοανεργές. It becomes even more forceful when
from 1582 onwards Beza mentions Jerome's opinion and from 1589 onwards
Drusius's explanation of the corruption.

[12] "in omnibus codicibus"; there is only a note on Matt 27:33 (from 1556
onwards), but Beza's idea of course concerns Mark 15:22 and John 19:17 as
well.

[13] Camerarius, *Notatio*, p. 120. Camerarius' conjecture is repeated by Naber
('ΤΡΙΤΟΝ', p. 280) and mentioned in Baljon's *NTG*.

[14] Beza probably refers to *Brutus* 43.6.2 and *Consolatio ad uxorem* 610 C.

[15] Cf. *Suda*, θ 186 (Adler): θεοστυγεῖς has both an active and a passive sense
('those who hate God' and 'those who are hated by God'), but in Rom 1:30 it
means 'those who hate God'.

active meaning and to differentiate it from θεοστυγεῖς.[16] More far-reaching are Beza's ideas on 1 Thes 3:3, where he anticipates a conjecture by Richard Bentley. The reading τὸ μηδένα σαίνεσθαι in this verse is a well-known problem; the verb σαίνω (a *hapax legomenon* in the NT) means 'to wag (the tail)', 'to fawn upon/over'. In this context, one would expect Timothy to be sent to help the Thessalonians endure the hardships they encounter.[17] This expectation is reflected by the Vulgate's 'ut nemo moveatur',[18] followed by many translations, though this meaning, '… be moved' (GB KJV RSV ASV), is still rather weak. Such a case is bound to attract conjectural emendation, and Beza seems to have been the first in a long line.[19] Beza writes:

> So that no one be shaken, τῷ μηδένα σαίνεσθαι.[20] That is, ταράτ-τεσθαι, as the Greek scholiast interprets.[21] But what if we take σαίνεσθαι rather as a middle, meaning 'to flatter', namely the enemies of the Gospel? For τὸ σαίνειν is well known to be used properly of dogs that fawn, wagging their tails, and I do not remember ever having read this word with another meaning, so that perhaps σείεσθαι or σαλεύεσθαι should rather be read, a verb which is used in the other epistle, 2:1 [actually 2:2]. The consensus of all manuscripts however stands in the way.[22]

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[16] No examples of θεοστύγεις are known. As often, it is not possible to be sure whether the idea is actually Beza's own; in view of the kind of learning that is involved, it could just as well derive from Henri Stephanus. Without naming Beza, Grotius supports the idea (*Annotationes* 6, p. 35).

[17] Baljon indicates that something as πάντα ὑπομένειν would be expected ('1 Thessalonicensen', p. 193).

[18] As already some Itala manuscripts as well as many other ancient versions (see Ti[8]).

[19] The most elegant solution is to read μηδὲν ἀσαίνεσθαι instead of μηδένα σαίνεσθαι, a suggestion (not a conjecture) made by various critics, from Valckenaer (*Schediasma*, pp. 339–342) to Carel Gabriël Cobet; Jan Hendrik Holwerda varies with μηδὲν ἀναίνεσθαι (*De betrekking van het verstand*, pp. 123–125). Many alternatives for σαίνεσθαι have been proposed besides Beza's σαλεύεσθαι and σείεσθαι, for instance σίνεσθαι (Matthaei, indicated by von Dobschütz, *Thessalonicher-Briefe*, pp. 133–134 n. 3) and σινιάζεσθαι (Peerlkamp, *Opmerkingen*, p. 83).

[20] Beza's Greek text has the Byzantine τῷ against MCT τό.

[21] This idea can be found in Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Thess.* 3 (PG 62 c. 410). Beza depends on Donatus, pp. 714–715 (τὸ μηδένα σαίνεσθαι. οἶον θορυβεῖσθαι, ταράσσεσθαι ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν τὰς οὐρὰς ταρασσόντων κυνῶν, μὴ κινεῖσθαι, μηδὲ τῆς προτέρας ἐξίστασθαι γνώμης).

[22] "[1556] *Ita* [1565: 'Ita' omitted] *ut nemo commoveatur*, τῷ μηδένα σαίνεσθαι. Id est ταράττεσθαι, ut Graecus scholiastes interpretatur. Quid si vero potius σαίνεσθαι media significatione accipiamus pro "abblandiri" [1565: 'ad-

It is relevant to observe the layers here: in earlier editions, Beza notes that σαίνεσθαι does not really warrant the interpretation found in the Vulgate (which he follows), and suggests the meaning 'to flatter' for it,[23] which is actually possible, but not likely. Apparently not satisfied with this suggestion, he adds a conjecture in 1589 (σαλεύεσθαι; cf. 2 Thes 2:2)[24] and another one in 1598 (σείεσθαι; from σείω, 'to shake'). In fact, these conjectures provide Greek words for the idea expressed by the Vulgate.[25]

If the conjecture on 1 Thes 3:3 is found in Beza's later editions only, the problem of the real meaning of ἀκρίδες in Matt 3:4, food for John the Baptist, in addition to wild honey, leads to a Bezan conjecture in the earliest version of his annotation. Beza writes in 1556:

> 'Locusts': ἀκρίδες. Learned men, among whom also Erasmus and Lefèvre,[26] have difficulties in explaining this noun. At least it is sure that it denotes food that is especially obtainable for a mountain man living in the desert. But as perhaps the conjecture is probable that ἀχράδες was written and the noun was modified by a slight change, I wanted, with the kind permission of the Church,[27] to suggest to the reader's attention whether it would not be more fitting if the text concerned wild pears.[28] But I did not dare to diverge from the received reading, because it is not read thus in any copy.[29]

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blandiri'], adversariis scilicet [1565: 'videlicet'] Euangelii? Nam τὸ σαίνειν constat de canibus proprie dici qui mota cauda blandiuntur, [1589] et vocem istam nusquam memini legere alia significatione; ut fortasse legendum sit potius [1598] σείεσθαι, vel [1589] σαλεύεσθαι: quo verbo utitur in altera ep[istola] 2.1. sed obstat omnium codicum consensus."

[23] Cf. the NEB footnote to 'not to be shaken': "*Or* beguiled away."

[24] σαλεύω occurs together with ταράσσω at Acts 17:13.

[25] Beza's σαλεύεσθαι anticipates Richard Bentley, who also proposed σεύεσθαι (Arthur Ayres Ellis, *Critica sacra*, p. 62). In Wettstein's *Prolegomena* (p. 174), the conjecture is given without name, which is often done in the case of Bentley's conjectures; in his *NTG* a.h.l., Bentley's name is indeed given.

[26] For Erasmus, see ASD VI–5, pp. 114–118 (ll. 112–201).

[27] On these at first sight puzzling words, see my discussion on p. 318 below.

[28] For the definition of ἀχράς, see for instance *Suda*, α 4713 (Adler).

[29] "[1556] Locustae, ἀκρίδες. Laborant docti homines, ac inter alios Erasmus et Stapulensis in huius nominis explicatione. Atque hoc quidem certum est, notari victum maxime parabilem homini montano, et in eremo degenti. Sed quia probabilis forte coniectura esset, quum scriptum esset ἀχράδες, exigua mutatione deflexum esse nomen, cum bona ecclesiae venia lectorem volui admonitum, an non melius quadret, de pyris sylvestribus haberi sermonem. Quia tamen in nullo exemplari ita legitur, a recepta lectione discedere ausus non sum."

The conjecture is interesting and is part of a long line of (Western) commentators who cannot easily imagine someone eating locusts.

From the annotation it would appear that the conjecture is Beza's own, though he does not state so explicitly.[30] Whether or not Beza is the *Urheber*, he did not support the conjecture for a long time, for the earliest form of the annotation is already replaced in the 1556 errata (p. 335[r]), where Beza notes that ἀκρίς is known in Greek as something which denotes food. The problem of its exact meaning remains, as can be seen from further additions and small changes in subsequent editions, in which various interpretations and conjectures are discussed.[31] In the 1565 edition, for instance, Beza adds a remark on ἀχράδας:

> Finally there are those who would have made ἀχράδας out of ἀκρί-δας, by which noun the Greek designate wild pears; but this is against the consensus of all the manuscripts.[32]

The use of 'foreign' words can pose problems as well. In 1 Cor 16:22, Paul writes (according to Beza's 1565 edition) Εἴτις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἤτω ἀνάθεμα, μαρὰν ἀθά ("If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maranatha"—KJV). The problem lies in the word 'Maranatha', which Beza does not interpret as meaning 'Lord, come!', but as a 'Syriac' term which denotes some kind of condemnation. His reason for doing so is the direct context. He writes in 1556:

> If the opinion of those is correct who want it to be a single term with the same meaning as the Hebrew חרם, I wonder however why ἀνάθεμα was not placed in second position, as the explanation of the Syriac term, as in 'Abba, father'. What then if either the copyists changed the order, or ἀνάθεμα, noted down in the margin

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[30] Wettstein indicates as its source "apud H. Stephanum", which usually is a reference to Henri Stephanus' Greek thesaurus. Bowyer, probably misunderstanding Wettstein's information, gives Henri Stephanus as the *Urheber* (*Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 8; 1812, p. 55).

[31] In 1565 Beza already dismisses the idea that ἀκρίδες denote some kind of vegetable; this idea was also advocated by Pigas (*Correspondance* 24 (no. 1482[bis]), pp. 390 ll. 110–111). Beza does not mention Pigas in a later revision of his annotation, but the editors of his correspondence regard a reference to a similar idea expressed by Isidore, added in 1598, as an indication that Beza actually received the letter (*Correspondance* 24, p. 398 n. 17).

[32] "Denique sunt qui ex ἀκρίδας fecerint ἀχράδας, quo nomine Graeci pyra sylvestria vocant; sed repugnat omnium codicum consensus."

as the translation of the Syriac term, afterwards crept into the text? But enough of this, for I would neither dare nor want to affirm anything (dogmatically) here.[33]

Beza is not the only one to see an aspect of condemnation in μαραναθά,[34] but he is alone in his conjecture that ἀνάθεμα is a secondary addition. He keenly remarks that the word order is decisive: if the text read 'μαρὰν ἀθά, ἀνάθεμα' it would be acceptable.[35] The example he gives to illustrate the point is the expression 'Abba, father' (e.g. Rom 8:15), in which a 'foreign' and a Greek word stand in the normal order.

This example is interesting because in the apparatus of NA[27] (actually from N[11] onwards) it is indicated that Beza proposes the omission of ὁ πατήρ after αββα at all three places where it occurs in the New Testament, to wit Mark 14:36, Rom 8:15 and Gal 4:6. This information, as Baarda has demonstrated, is not correct: Beza's annotations show that he regards ὁ πατήρ as additions made by the biblical authors themselves.[36] In addition to Baarda's discussion, the origin of the misunderstanding can be determined as follows. In his annotation on Rom 8:15, Beza examines the meaning of the repetition contained in αββα ὁ πατήρ. He refers to Augustine's comment according to which the combination of a Jewish word with a Greek one shows that Christ belongs to Jews

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[33] "Quod si vera est potius eorum opinio qui unicum vocabulum esse volunt, idem declarans atque Hebraeorum חרם. Miror sane cur non posteriore loco posuerit ἀνάθεμα, Syriaci scilicet vocabuli explicationem, ut in 'Abba Pater'. Quid si igitur vel librarii mutarunt ordinem vel ἀνάθεμα ad marginem pro Syriaci vocabuli interpretatione annotatum postea in contextum irrepsit? Sed de his hactenus; nihil enim hic ausim aut velim affirmare."

[34] In his additions to Lyranus' *Postilla*, Paulus Burgensis suggests that Paul's words contain a three-stage condemnation, namely separation ('anathema'), loss of goods ('macharam') and solemn malediction ('samatha'). In his view, 'maranatha' is an infelicitous concatenation of the last two terms. Influence of Burgensis's opinion can be found in Luther's translation "der sey Anathema Maharam Motha" (1546; similarly in 1522) and his marginal note (see WA Bibel 7 a.h.l.). Beza also mentions Burgensis's idea (without a reference to its author), but does not follow his conjecture. For an extensive discussion of Luther translations and other aspects of the trajectory of 1 Cor 16:22 in the sixteenth century, see Baarda, ' "Maranatha"—"Maharam Motha" '.

[35] The annotation in its 1556 form was more or less retained in 1565, but the conjecture was dropped in 1582.

[36] See Baarda, 'Abba, Vader', pp. 3–8 and my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation', p. 119.

and Greeks alike.[37] If Augustine is correct, Beza sees a problem in Mark's text, for there the words are spoken by Jesus himself, who did not speak Greek. Therefore, Beza concludes that Augustine's idea does not hold water and supposes instead that ὁ πατήρ is simply an explanatory addition. It is this remark that has led to the persistent misunderstanding that Beza makes a conjecture here, proposing the omission of ὁ πατήρ not only at Mark 14:36, but even at the two other texts. Beza's own words do not warrant such a conclusion, though interestingly Beza himself seems to have noticed that such a misunderstanding might occur, for he even forestalls it in his last edition by pointing out that the addition was made by the evangelist himself.[38]

10.3 GRAMMATICAL

At Heb 9:9–10 we witness Beza engaged in conjectural emendation in order to resolve a grammatical problem that would not even appear in the Latin translation. The construction presents some difficulties which can be displayed as follows:

[δυνάμενα Beza *cj*]
1. $\overline{\text{δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι προσφέρονται μὴ δυνάμεναι ... τελειῶσαι ...}}$
   munera et hostiae offeruntur quae non possunt ... perfectum facere

2. $\overline{\text{μόνον ἐπὶ βρώμασιν καὶ ... βαπτισμοῖς}}$
   solummodo in cibis et ... baptismis

3.
$\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ ℵ* A $\overline{\text{δικαιώματα σαρκὸς}}$
          [ἐπικείμεναι Beza *cj*]
$\mathfrak{M}$ $\overline{\text{καὶ δικαιώμασι σαρκὸς}}$ ... ἐπικείμενα
vg $\overline{\text{et iustitiis carnis   ... inpositis}}$

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[37] Augustine, *Spir. et litt.* 32.56 (CSEL 60 p. 213 ll. 14–15).
[38] In all editions except the last, the comment is "and I come rather to this conclusion, that ὁ πατήρ was added in order to explain the Syriac term" ("ac potius in eam venio sententiam ut ὁ πατήρ additum sit Syriaco vocabulo explicando"); in the last edition, the final words are "added by the evangelist in order to explain the Syriac word" ("... additum sit ab Euangelista Syriacae voci explicandae").

In the Byzantine text the reading καὶ δικαιώμασι (line 3) causes a clear incongruity between δυνάμεναι (line 1) and ἐπικείμενα (line 3). The simplest solution is to regard δικαιώμασι as a corruption of δικαιώματα, which was adapted to the preceding dative plurals βρώμασιν and especially βαπτισμοῖς (line 2).[39] Beza however knew the MCT reading δικαιώματα from only one manuscript in Stephanus' third edition (εʹ = min. 6), and did not adopt it, probably influenced by the Vulgate, in which the dative plurals include even ἐπικείμενα ('inpositis'). Instead he offered a conjecture, already in 1556:

> Furthermore there is a variant reading here, for the old translator [the Vulgate] reads ἐπικειμένοις, 'impositis', so that it agrees with δικαιώμασι. However all manuscripts have ἐπικείμενα, but this would hardly seem to agree, for these [ἐπικείμενα] depend upon the preceding verse, where δυνάμεναι is written, and not δυνάμενα. And thus in one old manuscript we find written δικαιώματα instead of δικαιώμασι, with the result that the construction is δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι προσφέρονται μὴ δυνάμεναι ..., and καὶ δικαιώματα ἐπικείμενα. I would prefer to read δυνάμενα in the preceding verse, or ἐπικείμεναι in this one. But this matter is not important as far as the meaning itself is concerned.[40]

In this conjectural solution, either δυνάμεναι or ἐπικείμενα is made to agree with the other participle. Either way the connection with δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι would remain intact.

More important is Beza's opinion on the words in Luke 22:20 τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον. Here something more than only grammar is involved. To Beza it is unacceptable to have τὸ ... ἐκχυνόμενον refer to the cup, which it *grammatically* does. He also dismisses a metonymical reference to the wine contained in the cup. The correct reading would be τῷ ... ἐκχυμομένῳ, for it is the blood that is

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[39] See Metzger, TC², p. 598 (TC¹, p. 668).

[40] "[1556] Caeterum [1582: 'Sed'] hic variat lectio [1582: 'scriptura']. Legit enim vetus interpres ἐπικειμένοις, *impositis*, ut cohaereat cum δικαιώμασι. Habent tamen codices omnes ἐπικείμενα: sed quod [1582: 'quod tamen' instead of 'sed quod'] parum videatur cohaerere. Pendent enim haec a praecedenti versiculo, ubi δυνάμεναι scriptum est, non δυνάμενα. Itaque in uno vetusto codice pro δικαιώμασι scriptum invenimus δικαιώματα, ut sit constructio, δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι προσφέρονται μὴ δυνάμεναι, etc. καὶ δικαιώματα ἐπικείμενα, etc. Ego malim in priore versiculo legere δυνάμενα, vel in isto ἐπικείμεναι. Sed haec, quod ad sententiam ipsam attinet, nullius sunt momenti."

poured out. This is the reading that is eventually followed in the Latin translation,[41] but in his annotation Beza also suggests another solution, namely influence from the similar expression in Matt 26:28 and Mark 14:24.[42] He cannot easily accept a solecism by the biblical authors.[43] In a characteristic way, he uses the category of marginal glosses as text-critical explanation of the textual corruption.

Some truly anti-Catholic statements can be found in Beza's annotation on the word πρῶτος in Matt 10:2, through which Simon Peter is called the first of the twelve apostles:

> [1556] I suspect that this word has been added by someone who wanted to confirm Peter's first place, for nothing follows that belongs together with it. However, we do find it written thus in all copies and the Roman [edition of] Theophylact, who eloquently suggests that therefore Peter and Andrew are reckoned as the first, for they were πρωτόκλητοι [the first to have been called]. But in this order nothing mysterious is hidden, as becomes clear from the fact that in Mark 3 [Mark 3:16–19] and Luke 6 [Luke 6:14–16], the same order is not maintained at all; and here [in Matthew] the old translation [the Vulgate] puts Philip and Bartholomew before

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[41] Beza's translation varies. In 1556, he translates "Hoc poculum *est* Novum illud testamentum, per sanguinem meum, quid [sic] pro vobis effunditur". Here 'quid' seems an error for either 'qui' or 'quod'. The latter would refer to 'poculum', faithfully reflecting the Greek. From 1565 onwards, 'quid' is corrected into 'qui', which refers to 'sanguinem' in agreement with Beza's conjecture. The Vulgate has the same 'qui', but there it can refer to 'calix' as well. In Beza's later editions the translation is unchanged, except that 'testamentum' is replaced by 'foedus' in 1589 and by 'pactum' in 1598. The grammatical difficulty noted by Beza is silently glossed over in many English translations (but not RSV).

[42] The subtle differences between Matthew's τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον, Mark's τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν (or identical to Matthew's expression in Beza's text) and Luke's τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον, so dear to commentators of the Gospels, are silently passed over by Beza. The striking point, however, is the nominative case in Luke's expression. Despite Karl Goetz's efforts to give a particular meaning to the connection between τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον and τὸ .. ἐκχυννόμενον (see his article 'Demonstrativum', esp. p. 189), it would seem that Beza's intuition is correct here: τὸ ... ἐκχυννόμενον must refer to the blood. In my view, the explanation of this 'apparent solecism' (cf. Beza's term 'soloeco-phanes') would be redaction-critical: when the words τοῦτο ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης were changed into τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, the nominative case of τὸ ... ἐκχυννόμενον was simply not adapted accordingly.

[43] Cf. Beza's annotation on Rom 11:28, in which he defends Paul from a solecism he was accused of by Erasmus.

James and John.[44] But also by Paul himself, Gal 2:9, James is put before Peter; thus clearly ridiculous are those who want to maintain through this argument the tyranny of the Antichrist.[45]

In the errata to the 1556 edition already, the conjecture is put somewhat less firmly:

> What if this word has been added by someone who wanted to confirm Peter's first place? For nothing ... [46]

The first reason for Beza's conjecture, however, is not theological but grammatical: he does not see why πρῶτος is used when it is not followed by δεύτερος etc. Only this problem prompts him to make his polemical statements. Admittedly the tone of his annotation conceals almost completely the grammatical aspect of the problem he spots.[47]

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[44] That is, in Beza's Vulgate column. No such variant reading is indicated in vg^st or vg^ww, which both have the normal order.

[45] "[1556] *Primus*, πρῶτος. Hoc vocabulum suspicor ab aliquo fuisse additum qui Petri primatum vellet stabilire nihil enim sequitur quod cohaereat. Reperimus tamen ita scriptum in omnibus exemplaribus, et Theophylacto Romano, qui diserte admonet primos idcirco recenseri Petrum et Andream, quod essent πρωτόκλητοι. In hoc autem ordine nihil mysterii latere, vel illud declarat, quod Marci 3, et Lucae 6, idem prorsus ordo non observatur, et hoc etiam loco in vetere translatione Philippus et Bartholomeus, Iacobo et Iohanni praeponuntur. Sed et quod apud Paulum ipsum Galat. 2.b.9, Iacobus Petro praeponitur, ut plane sint ridiculi qui volunt hoc argumento Antichristi tyrannidem confirmare." The use of references such as '2.b.9' betrays an interesting aspect of the history of printing. For a few decades after Stephanus' fourth edition (1551), the older system of alphabetically numbered paragraphs (which can be traced back to Hugh of Saint Cher, but which seems to differ slightly between various editions) and the newer system of numerically numbered verses (which was to lead to a slightly different meaning of the word 'verse') happily coexisted, even within the editions that adopted the new verse numbers. And thus we see how Beza's first and second editions refer to Acts 13:9 as 'Act.13.b.9.', thereby following (Robert) Stephanus' practice of simply adding the new verse number to the old reference. In the third edition, finally, the old paragraph references are omitted.

[46] "[1556^err] *Primus*, πρῶτος. Quid si hoc vocabulum ab aliquo additum est qui Petri primatum vellet stabilire? Nihil enim ..."

[47] The remarkable combination of a polemical setting and a textual conjecture was pointed out by Martin: "The 4 [fourth] point is, of picking quarels to the very original text: for alter and change it I hope they [the Protestants] shal not be able in this watchful world of most vigilant Catholikes. But what they would doe, if al Bibles were only in their handes and at their commaundement, ghesse by this: that Beza against the euidence of al copies both Greeke and Latin, (In his Annot. vpon the new Test. set forth in the yere 1556.) thinketh πρῶτος is more then should be in the text Mat. 10 ..." (*Discouerie*, p. a v^v).

Somewhat paradoxically, Beza defends the weakly attested reading πρῶτον Σίμωνα at Mark 3:16.[48] There is no polemical note in his annotation on it, and he now even waves aside the problem of the unaccompanied πρῶτον by pointing out similar instances in the New Testament.[49] The reason for this preference is again grammatical: Simon should be mentioned in the same way (as direct object of ἐποίησεν in verse 14) as the other disciples.

A small but significant conjecture is found at 2 Cor 8:3. The many changes in his translation demonstrate the difficulties Beza felt in this passage. The main difficulty is the lack of a finite verb after ὅτι in verse 3, which creates a sequence regarded as ungrammatical by Beza. He therefore proposes to simply strike this ὅτι (before κατὰ δύναμιν):

> But to say freely what I think, without any bias against the received reading (may such profane audacity be far from me!), I conjecture that Paul wrote this: εἰς τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐτῶν, κατὰ δύναμιν (μαρτυρῶ) καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, αὐθαίρετοι μετὰ πολλῆς παρακλήσεως δεόμενοι ἡμῶν [8:2b–4a], that is, 'in their wealthy benevolence, according to their power (I can testify) and beyond their power, voluntarily begging us with great insistence'. This way everything fits together completely, nothing from the meaning is added or gone, and that entirely unusual ellipsis is avoided.[50]

This conjecture however seems to create another difficulty, which is usually not a very good argument in favour of any conjecture. If ὅτι is left out, the nominative case of both the appositional adjective αὐθαίρετοι and the participle δεόμενοι does not agree

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[48] From 1556 onwards; Beza knows the reading from Erasmus' annotations (the annotation 'Et imposui Simoni' (from 1516 onwards)—ASD VI–5, p. 370 ll. 467–468) and adopts it in his translation. As a consequence, there is a striking difference between the Greek text (καὶ ἐπέθηκε τῷ Σίμωνι ὄνομα Πέτρον) and the Latin translation (1556: "Primum Simonem (et imposuit Simoni nomen Petrum) ..."; 1565: "Primum Simonem (cui imposuit nomen Petrum) ...").

[49] Matt 10:2 (!); Acts 26:20; Rom 1:8; 3:2.

[50] "Ut tamen libere dicam quod sentio, nullo cum receptae lectionis praeiudicio (absit enim a me prophana haec audacia), Paulum sic scripsisse coniicio: εἰς τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς ἁπλότητος αὐτῶν, κατὰ δύναμιν (μαρτυρῶ) καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, αὐθαίρετοι μετὰ πολλῆς παρακλήσεως δεόμενοι ἡμῶν etc., id est 'in copiosam benignitatem ipsorum, pro viribus (testor) atque supra vires, ultro cum multa cohortatione rogando nos' etc. Sic enim omnia prorsus cohaerent, nihil sententiae adiicitur aut decedit, et ellipsis illa prorsus inusitata vitatur." From 1582 onwards; not changed in 1589 and 1598.

with the preceding genitive αὐτῶν. Beza handles this problem in an interesting way:

> I suspect however that the particle ὅτι has been introduced and that the punctuation of this place has been confused by someone who strove to avoid the apparent solecism [soloecophanes] that rather αὐθαιρέτων and δεομένων should be said. But examples hereof are not lacking, even in the Latinity of the best writers. For this way many things are said in the common way of speaking, as from Terence: 'Cur ergo in his te conspicor regionibus? vobis *fretus*' ['Why, then, do I see you in this neighbourhood?—[[As one]] depending on your kindness.']⁵¹ And: '*Nos omnes* quibus est alicunde obiectus labor, omne quod est interea tempus, priusquam id rescitum est, lucro est' ['All of us who have met with trouble from any cause, all the time that passes before we come to the knowledge of it, is so much gain'].⁵² And an entirely similar anacoluthon occurs below at [verses] 9.11.13.⁵³

This new problem, however, is less serious, as Beza tries to demonstrate with two citations from Terence and another instance of anacoluthon in 2 Cor 8. It is not a true solecism, but only apparently one.⁵⁴ He even uses it as a text-critical argument: the inclusion of ὅτι is a *Verschlimmbesserung* that can be ascribed to someone who intended to avoid the anacoluthon. The annotation shows that Beza can use the argument of the harder reading in order to sustain his text-critical reasoning. It also demonstrates that Beza feels no problem in making conjectures, but at the same time is urged to remark explicitly and in almost religious terms that he is not prejudiced against 'the received reading'.

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⁵¹ Terence, *Eunuchus* 5.8 (ll. 1062–1063) (translation after Henry Thomas Riley).

⁵² Terence, *Hecyra* 3.1 (ll. 288–289) (translation after Henry Thomas Riley).

⁵³ "Suspicor autem particulam ὅτι interiectam, et interpunctionem huius loci perturbatam ab aliquo fuisse qui vitare soloecophanes istud studuerit, quum potius αὐθαιρέτων et δεομένων dicendum fuerit. Sed tamen non desunt huiusmodi exempla apud optimos etiam Latinitatis auctores. Sic enim multa in communi sermone dicuntur, unde illud Terentii 'Cur ergo in his te conspicor regionibus? Vobis fretus.' Et illud 'Nos omnes quibus est alicunde obiectus labor, omne quod est interea tempus, priusquam id rescitum est, lucro est.' Et tale prorsus anacoluthon occurrit infra, 9.11.13." From 1582 onwards; not changed in 1589 and 1598. Emphasis added in the translation.

⁵⁴ Beza uses the very rare word 'soloecophanes' (from the equally rare Greek σολοικοφανής) to designate such apparent solecisms. He does not want to admit the occurrence of real solecisms in the biblical text.

10.4 STYLISTIC

At Matt 10:25, Beza makes a comment that shows his stylistic
sensitivity. In all editions except his last, he renders the words καὶ
ὁ δοῦλος ὡς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ as "et *ut* servus *sit* sicut dominus
suus" ("and *that* the servant *be* as his lord").[55] He comments:

> And *that* the slave *be*, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος. It should rather be said καὶ τῷ
> δούλῳ, 'and for the slave', so that these [words] fit together with
> the preceding [words]. And this is what the old translator [the Vul-
> gate] reads.[56]

There is indeed a stylistic unevenness in the Greek, as the fol-
lowing table shows:

a.	ἀρκετὸν τῷ μαθητῇ ἵνα	γένηται ὡς ὁ διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ
b1. καὶ	ὁ δοῦλος	ὡς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ

In completed form, the second line would be:

b1. καὶ ἀρκετὸν ἵνα ὁ δοῦλος γένηται ὡς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ.

The corresponding elements 'disciple' and 'servant' occur at diffe-
rent places. As Beza notes, the Vulgate reading (actually some
manuscripts only) reflect a different text:

b2. et	servo	sicut dominus eius
b2. καὶ	τῷ δούλῳ	ὡς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ

which in completed form would be:

b2. καὶ ἀρκετὸν τῷ δούλῳ ἵνα γένηται ὡς ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ

Now the parallels are exact and smooth. The unevenness, how-
ever, can safely be attributed to the author; in other words, the
Vulgate reading 'servo' merely reflects the fact that it was spotted
and corrected by the translator or by a copyist.[57] In 1598, Beza
changes his translation into "et servo *ut sit* sicut dominus ipsius"
("and for the servant *that he be* as his lord"); he even adopts τῷ
δούλῳ into his Greek text and comments:

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[55] Italics mark words that are added in translation; in 1556 and 1565, Beza's
translation has 'ipsius' instead of 'suus'.

[56] '[1556] Et *ut* servus *sit*, καὶ ὁ δοῦλος. Dicendum potius erat, καὶ τῷ δού-
λῳ, "et servo", ut ista cum superioribus cohaererent. Et ita legit vetus interpres.'

[57] The latter is more likely, though it is also conceivable that an instance of
translational freedom ('servo') was subsequently corrected into a reading more
in agreement with the Greek ('servus')

'And for the servant *that he be*,' καὶ τῷ δούλῳ. This is what the old translator reads.[58]

Stylistic considerations make Beza adopt a weakly attested reading. It can even be argued that his choice is conjectural.[59]

At 2 Cor 1:6–7, which we already discussed in connection with Erasmus' conjecture,[60] Beza searches for stylistic simplicity by means of conjectural emendation. It is remarkable that the verses occur in Beza's text in three different forms. In his first edition, his translation and annotation show that he adopts the 𝔐 reading (S¹ Pˡ R M S² Pˡ) he knows from Stephanus' collations.[61] In the second edition, however, when the Greek text itself is added, the Erasmian reading (S¹ Pˡ R S² Pˡ M) is taken over. The conjecture occurs in the second edition only, when Beza writes:

> Whatever reading we adopt, the meaning will remain the same. If it is allowed to me to conjecture something in this variety, I would estimate that the reading should simply be εἴτε δὲ θλιβόμεθα, εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν, etc. ..., because that repetition seems of little importance to me.[62]

As his conjecture, Beza can only mean the Vulgate order of the main elements coupled with the omission of the first instance of the words ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως καὶ σωτηρίας (S¹ S² Pˡ R M). This is certainly 'simpliciter'.[63] Strikingly absent is any text-critical reasoning other than that textual variation gives the critic some more latitude. No effort is made to explain the origin of the

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[58] "[1598] *Et servo* [*ut sit*], καὶ τῷ δούλῳ. Ita legit vetus interpres."

[59] The reading δούλῳ is mentioned by Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 18; 1812, p. 82. Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.), followed by Bowyer, even mentions two manuscripts (L and 74ᶜ). As the former is part of Stephanus' collations, these may have recorded it and thus provide a possible source for Beza. One would however expect him to have mentioned the attestation in his first edition.

[60] See above, pp. 104–108; the sigla used to designate the different parts of the sentence are explained on p. 104.

[61] In Stephanus' third edition, the 𝔐 reading is indicated as attested in α´ δ´ ζ´ ι´ ια´ ιγ´. Beza states that he adopts it not only because of its attestation, but also to avoid a 'soloecophanes' (an apparent solecism): the participle εἰδότες now agrees with παρακαλούμεθα.

[62] "Sed quamcunque harum lectionum amplectamur, eadem manebit sententia. Quod si mihi licet aliquid in ista varietate coniicere, putarim legendum simpliciter, εἴτε δὲ θλιβόμεθα, εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν, etc. ... quoniam illa repetitio videtur mihi parvi esse momenti."

[63] It is not even the simple omission of P (Pˡ or Pˢ) from another form, for such a form (e.g. S¹ Pˡ S² Pˡ R M) is unknown.

attested readings; Beza actually presents *what he would have written*. From the third edition onwards, the conjecture is not mentioned anymore; instead, the Vulgate reading is adopted (S^1 P^l S^2 P^s R M), that is, the reading that actually comes closest to the conjecture.[64]

More complicated than his conjecture on 2 Cor 1:6–7, but betraying similar stylistic concerns, is Beza's conjecture on 1 Cor 9:10. The unevenness in this passage as well as the interpretation of the expression τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν may pose some problems. In addition, there is a text-critical choice to be made. The two main readings can be diagrammed and translated as follows.[65]

1. MCT ($\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ ℵ* A B C ...):

ὀφείλει   ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι [τοῦ μετέχειν]   ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν
  καὶ

[ὀφείλει]   ὁ ἀλοῶν [ἀλοᾶν]   ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν

"The one who ploughs must plough in hope [of a share], and the one who threshes [must] [thresh] in hope of a share."

2. TR ($\mathfrak{M}$):

ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι ὀφείλει ὁ ἀροτριῶν   ἀροτριᾶν
          καὶ

      [ὀφείλει] ὁ ἀλοῶν   τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν   ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι

"The one who ploughs must plough in hope, and the one who threshes in hope [must] share in (i.e. receive part of) his hope."

The MCT reading is problematic in that rather much has to be supplied in order to complete the sentence and to achieve an elegant chiastic balance between the two parts;[66] the problem with

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[64] Beza adopts this reading without knowing about Greek attestation; decisive are two factors: its 'simplicity' and the support from the Syriac and the Arabic translations.

[65] In NA^{27} it is noted that the source of what is marked as a citation (δι᾽ ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη ὅτι) is not clear. An allusion to Isa 28:24 LXX μὴ ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν μέλλει ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν (cf. Isa 45:9 LXX) can perhaps be detected.

[66] For this reason, van de Sande Bakhuyzen (*Over de toepassing*, pp. 255–256), followed by Baljon (*Tekst*, pp. 70–71), conjectures ὅτι ὀφείλει ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριᾶν, καὶ ὁ ἀλοῶν ἀλοᾶν, omitting the prepositional phrase ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν from the B reading. Baljon explains the $\mathfrak{M}$ reading τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι as the (secondary) conflation of two independent scribal additions, the B reading ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν and the D* reading τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, which were both intended to remedy the accidental omission of ἀλοᾶν.

the TR/𝔐 reading is its unevenness (lack of balance), the fact that ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι is separated both times from the element it belongs to, and the rather odd expression τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, in which 'his hope' actually denotes 'the results of what he had been hoping for'.

Beza, of course, did not have access to the many manuscripts known nowadays to support the first, shorter reading. He probably only knew it from Stephanus' collations[67] and from the Vulgate ("qui triturat in spe fructus percipiendi"). His text-critical reasoning, which only concerns the last words of the verse, is interesting. When put in modern terms, it runs as follows. The two attested readings are the longer τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι and the shorter ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν. The longer reading shows traces of conflation, notably the repetition of ἐλπίς in two different forms. We may therefore conclude that the original reading was the rather difficult τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν. In line with his text-critical preferences, Beza imagines a marginal reading ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν as intermediate step in the conflation. In one part of the tradition it replaced the original τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν and in another it became conflated with it.

Beza's conclusion comes close to Metzger's reasoning,[68] but he stops there and seems to prefer this conjectural reading. He does not anticipate Metzger's explanation of its origin,[69] though he correctly notices the difficulty that ὀφείλει ἀλοᾶν is to be understood in the other reading, ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν. Thus in Beza's conjecture, the last two words, ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι, are to be omitted,[70] and he still follows the understanding according to which the μετέχειν depends on ὀφείλει. Somewhat ironically,

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[67] Stephanus' margin in the 1550 edition indicates manuscript ια´, a manuscript that is now missing.

[68] TC², p. 492 (TC¹, p. 558), on the reading τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέχειν: "Later the sense was improved somewhat by combining the readings ..."

[69] That is, the failure to understand that (ὀφείλει) ἀλοᾶν is to be supplied, in other words, the error to take μετέχειν as the infinitive depending on ὀφείλει.

[70] Wettstein mentions Beza's conjecture (*Prolegomena*, p. 173 and *NTG* a.h.l.), though in the list in the *Prolegomena*, it is not indicated which instance of ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι is actually meant; in *NTG* a.h.l., the absence of its *second* instance is indicated in D* F G 46 (min. 46ᵖ = min. 181), though the variant itself is erroneously placed before the one on the *first* instance (in ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι ὀφείλει ὁ ἀροτριῶν (𝔐)). Cf. Ti⁸ (Tischendorf puts a question mark after 46) and NA²⁷.

Beza's assumption of conflation makes him propose a reading that can itself be regarded as a conflation.[71]

It has to be noted that the reading τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ μετέ-χειν, Beza's conjecture, is actually attested. Beza himself notes this in 1582, and repeats his suggestion, alongside with the alternative reading ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν. The revised 1582 annotation is again typical for Beza's treatment of manuscript attestation. He simply adds τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ to the shorter reading, as words that have to be understood anyway.[72]

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[71] The conjecture is not adopted into the Greek text or the Latin translation ("et qui triturat sub spe, spei suae particeps esse").

[72] Reuss, *Bibliotheca*, p. 86, gives Beza's conjecture as ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέ-χειν τῆς ἐλπίδος. This is based on the 1582 annotation (with the last word αὐτοῦ omitted), but it does not concern earlier editions and does not even represent Beza's conjecture, but only the alternative to it, his elaboration of what the Vulgate reading stands for in Greek. On the form αὐτοῦ, see above, p. 235 n. 91.

BEZA'S CONJECTURES (2)

It is necessary that the evangelist's authority stand firm—Beza[1]

11.1 LOGICAL AND CONTEXTUAL

Beza's exegesis can be concerned about the logical coherence of the text as a story. An important example is found at Matt 1:18. In 1556, Beza comments on the words ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου:

> This is narrated 'proleptically', that is, by anticipation, taking into account the end of the story, although Theophylact thinks differently. For otherwise it would not have been necessary for Joseph to be admonished in his sleep of something that he understood well enough before.[2]

The point raised in this annotation is interesting: verse 18 says that Mary "was found to be with child from the Holy Spirit" (NRSV), and verse 19 that Joseph was then "willing to dismiss her quietly" (verse 19). It is rather strange to say the least that in verse 20 the angel still has to tell Joseph in a dream that "the child conceived in her is from the Holy Spirit". Apparently Beza is not satisfied with his first explanation, for in his last edition he goes into considerable length in order to maintain the words:

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[1] "Necesse est ... ut euangelistae sua constet authoritas"—in the annotation on Luke 2:2; from 1556 onwards.

[2] "[1556] ... Caeterum ista [1565 'Ista vero' instead of 'Caeterum ista'] narrantur προληπτικῶς, id est per anticipationem, [1582] et narrationis exitus habita ratione; [1556] quamvis aliter censeat Theophylactus. Nam alioquin minime oportuisset Iosephum in somnis admoneri eius rei quam satis antea intelligeret." The words 'taking into account the end of the story' are an elucidation added in 1582. The idea of 'anticipation' is taken over by Henri Owen, in Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 4; 1812, p. 44. The same idea can be found in a slightly different form as "vom *geschichtlichen* Standpunkte aus zugesetzt, um für das ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα gleich das rechte Urtheil zu sichern" (Heinrich A.W. Meyer, *Matthäus*, p. 58; emphasis original); either idea would fall under van de Sande Bakhuyzen's verdict that it "points out the problem, but does not solve it. One does not cure an illness by giving it a name" ("... wijst het bezwaar aan, maar neemt het niet weg. Men geneest geen kwaal door er een naam aan te geven"—*Over de toepassing*, p. 118).

For how could Joseph know that Mary was not pregnant from intercourse with a man, but entirely through divine power, unless from a revelation? And if he had known this from elsewhere, why would he have considered abandoning her? Therefore, either this [the words ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου in verse 18] would have to be omitted, though all manuscripts have it, and it would be quite clear that it has been added, or a relative with an independent verb has to be understood, an ellipsis which is not at all unusual in Hebrew, so that the whole passage be translated thus: 'to be found pregnant, *which was* of the Holy Spirit.' For Joseph had learned that she was pregnant from the evident signs thereof, but that this was the work of the Holy Spirit he came to know only from the angel. Some transmit a vow of [continuing] virginity, and others that the virgin was united with Joseph not for marriage, but in order that he could protect her, but this is a completely foolish fable; just as some of the old commentators write that God evidently wanted the conception of the virgin to be hidden from Satan, although otherwise Satan would not be able to know anything that God would not want him to know.[3]

Beza's first solution, the omission of ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου, is a conjecture, which has an important reception history;[4] his second solution, understanding the same words as an authorial aside, is

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[3] "Unde enim Iosephus Mariam non ex congressu cum viro, sed divina prorsus virtute praegnantem esse, nisi ex revelatione intelligere potuit? Et si hoc aliunde cognovisset, cur illam cogitasset dimittere? Aut igitur expungendum esset illud, quod tamen in omnibus codicibus extat, et omnino videtur fuisse adiiciendum; aut subaudiendum est relativum cum verbo substantivo, ellipsi Hebraeis minime insueta, ut ita totus locus vertatur 'compertam esse gravidam [quod erat] e Sp[iritu] Sancto'. Gravidam igitur illam esse Iosephus ex evidentibus signis didicerat. Hoc autem esse Spiritus Sancti opus, ex angelo demum cognovit. Quod autem alii de virginitatis voto, alii de virgine Iosepho non ad coniugium, sed ad custodiendam illam commissa tradunt, inanissime est fabula; ut et illud quod ex veteribus etiam nonnulli scribunt, sic nimirum Deum voluisse satanae hunc virginis conceptum celari, [1598] quanvis alioquin ne satan quidem nosse quidquam possit, quod Deus velit ipsi esse ignotum." These words, except the last words (from 'quanvis'), are already found in the appendix of the separate edition of the annotations in 1594. The words 'sed ad custodiendam illam' can also be rendered as 'in order that he could protect it [sc. her virginity]'.

[4] Cf. Franssen, *Beoordeeling*, pp. 8–9 and Baljon, *NTG*; in view of Beza's annotation cited above, van de Sande Bakhuyzen's denial (*Over de toepassing*, p. 118 n. 1) that the conjecture stems from Beza is erroneous. A reason for the addition which Beza does not provide is added by Markland: "... one might suspect, that the words ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου were originally the marginal note of some well-meaning injudicious person, who was not willing to leave the Virgin's character in suspence for a moment, and had not patience to let the reader wait, till the course of the narration, ver. 20, should clear up the matter" (in Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 4; 1812, p. 44).

more or less accepted in modern exegesis—if the problem is raised at all: in verses 18–19 Matthew is not yet relating a story but merely introducing it.[5] However it seems to me that especially the word εὑρέθη puts the reader in the middle of a story, as Beza's comments also show. For Beza, the text apparently remained somewhat problematic, for he retained his conjecture alongside his exegetical solution.

The words οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν in Matt 28:17 present two difficulties. The first is grammatical and concerns οἱ δέ, which is not preceded by οἱ μέν: what is its function and meaning? The second concerns ἐδίστασαν: what place can doubt or hesitation have at this moment of the resurrection story?

In all his editions but his last, Beza takes οἱ δέ as 'but some', even though a preceding οἱ μέν is lacking. It is equivalent to τινες δέ, he writes in 1582. But in his last edition only, he is disturbed by the expression 'but some doubted' and changes his mind on οἱ δέ:

> 'But some', οἱ δέ, that is ἔνιοι δέ. I found it written thus in all our manuscripts, and all interpreters that I consulted agree with this explanation. And so I did not want anything to be changed here out of mere conjecture, just as anywhere else. However I do not hide that this reading looks suspicious to me. For firstly, this οἱ δέ is altogether rare with this meaning.[6] Secondly, it is evident from what follows in verses 18–20 that this narrative only concerns the eleven [disciples]. And it is altogether the same account, whether you consider the time or the place, or the words of Christ who is about to depart, as the following one that Luke narrates in Luke 24:20 and Acts 1:4.[7] But how in the world would it have been probable that after forty days they could still doubt his true presence confirmed as it had been by so many appearances and corrections and by intimate experience, that he himself was the one who had brought them together at that time and at that place. In order to counter these difficulties some say that they [the eleven] did not doubt the Master's resurrection until then, but that not all recognised him immediately when he arrived, but this is not convincing. If Christ had discovered that they still had not utterly cast aside

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[5] E.g. Luz, *Matthäus* 1, p. 99: "Der Partizipialstil deutet an, daß Matthäus hier noch nicht erzählt, sondern nur Voraussetzungen nennt."

[6] This is contested by Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.); Valckenaer wants to supply οἱ μέν before προσεκύνησαν (*Schediasma*, p. 350).

[7] The reference to Luke 24:20 is not correct; Beza probably intends 24:36–51; the reference to Acts 1:4 is not very precise either (for Acts 1:4–8).

their first incredulity, who would rightly suppose that Christ would
not blame them even more seriously than before, even more so
because he was to going to appoint them as apostles at that very
moment? Therefore it seems probable to me, without forcing the
judgement of others, that the evangelist more likely wrote οὐδὲ
ἐδίστασαν, that is, 'and they did not doubt', so that we understand
that only then every doubt was dispelled and Christ was recognised
and worshipped by all eleven without any exception, and hence
they were truly prepared to receive the apostolic function.[8]

Beza's conjecture must be seen as rooted in a particular under-
standing of the text, namely as a factual account of events that
once occurred, in which the information from the four Gospels
can be woven together without any problem. The incongruity he
then feels is not unreal:[9] at this point in the resurrection story,
with its 'many appearances and corrections and intimate expe-
rience', and in particular immediately before the disciples are to
'receive the apostolic function', doubt from their part is surpri-

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[8] "*Alioqui vero*, οἱ δέ, id est ἔνιοι δέ. Sic istud reperi [= repperi] scriptum in
omnibus nostris codicibus, et assentiuntur huic expositioni omnes quos vidi
interpretes. Itaque nihil hic immutatum esse volui, ut nec alibi uspiam ex nuda
coniectura; nec tamen dissimulo suspectam esse mihi hanc lectionem. Primum
enim rarum est omnino istud οἱ δέ isto significatu. Deinde ad solos illos undecim
istam narrationem pertinere liquet ex iis quae sequuntur, versiculis 18. 19. et 20.
Et omnino haec eadem illa est historia, sive tempus sive locum, sive Christi
verba quasi discedentis spectes, atque illa quam postremam narrat Lucas 24.20
et Act. 1.4. Quinam autem verisimile fuerit illos post quadraginta dierum tot
apparitionibus et reprehensionibus, et familiari consuetudine confirmatam sui
praesentiam veram, adhuc dubitare potuisse, quin is ipse esset, qui hoc tempus et
hunc locum ipsis conduxisset. Quod enim nonnulli, ut his difficultatibus occur-
rant, aiunt illos, non de Magistri resurrectione adhuc dubitasse, sed non omnes
statim illum advenientem agnovisse, certe nullius est momenti. Quod si adhuc
eos comperisset Christus pristinam illam incredulitatem non penitus abiecisse,
quis merito putarit Christum non fuisse gravius etiam multo quam antea illos
reprehensurum, nedum, ut eo ipso momento illos designaret apostolos? Mihi
ergo verosimile est, salvo aliorum iudicio, potius scripsisse euangelistam οὐδὲ
ἐδίστασαν, id est 'neque dubitarunt', ut intelligamus tum demum Christum
fuisse ab omnibus illis undecim, omni dubitatione sublata, summo consensu
agnitum et adoratum, ac proinde vere ad apostolicam recipiendam functionem
comparatos."

[9] Some patristic commentators take the aorist ἐδίστασαν as a pluperfect
('though some had doubted before'; see Luz, *Matthäus* 4, p. 439 n. 51). Some
modern commentators suppose that Matthew was familiar with the elements of
doubt related in Luke and John (e.g. Erich Klostermann, *Matthäus-evangelium*,
p. 231).

sing, to say the least.[10] It does not occur to Beza to ask what the evangelist may intend by telling the story in this particular way.[11]

It is interesting to see Beza suggest in his last edition a conjectural emendation that changes οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν, 'but some doubted' into οὐδὲ ἐδίστασαν, 'and they did not doubt'. Even in this last edition, when statements of reluctance towards conjectural emendation are still more frequent than before, the preoccupation not to change the text can be at odds with the urge to have a flawless text. Beza still prints οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν and 'quidam tamen dubitaverunt' ('but some doubted'), but his annotation reveals the antagonistic forces in his conception of the text.

The conjecture also has an interesting reception history. Valckenaer reports that he knows no one who accepts Beza's conjecture. As he does not state his own opinion on it, he leaves some doubt as to whether he rejects it. He even reports another conjecture made by "a theologian, skilled in this literature", namely οἱ δὲ ἐδιέστησαν ('but some kept at a distance'), which would correspond nicely to the following words καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.[12] Inspired by Beza and Valckenaer, van de Sande Bakhuyzen proposes to omit the entire expression οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν, which he considers a secondary gloss intended to make the text agree with the instances of doubt narrated in the other Gospels.[13] This conjecture however has a serious disadvantage compared to Beza's in that it assumes conscious scribal alteration. It is hard to imagine copyists ascribing additional moments of weakness to the discip-

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[10] Wettstein cites Beza's annotation at length, and disagrees on all points (*NTG* a.h.l.). Wettstein's rebuttal is however based on an understanding of the text similar to Beza's: he refers to the disciples' doubt mentioned in the other Gospels, and feels free to allow for additional teaching before the disciples are sent into the world.

[11] See for instance Luz, *Matthäus* 4, pp. 438–440. Luz points out the brevity of Matthew's story, and the thematic elements of ambivalence and lack of faith (e.g. Matt 14:31–33; 28:8).

[12] *Schediasma*, p. 351. It is unclear who is meant by the "theologus, harum literarum peritus"; it cannot be excluded that the conjecture is simply Valckenaer's own.

[13] *Over de toepassing*, p. 138. Van de Sande Bakhuyzen is followed by Johannes Weiss, 'Evangelien', p. 403: "Das kleine Sätzchen 'einige aber zweifelten' fügt sich im Griechischen sprachlich hart ein; vor allem wirkt es in diesem harmonischen Schluß so stimmungswidrig, daß man es wohl mit Recht für einen Einschub zur Ausgleichung mit Lk.24,37; Joh.20,25f. (Thomas) erklärt hat. Da die Elf ihn 'gesehen' haben, ist kein Grund mehr zum Zweifel."

les, whereas an inadvertent alteration of ΟΥΔΕ into ΟΙΔΕ is at least transcriptionally imaginable.

Just like Erasmus, Beza can be concerned about elements in the text that appear to be 'out of tune'. On the well-known reading ἐπειράσθησαν in Heb 11:37, he writes in 1556:

> 'They were tempted', ἐπειράσθησαν. Thus it was written in all our Greek copies. I cannot think otherwise, however, than that it crept into the text out of the margin, where some had noted, incorrectly, ἐπειράσθησαν instead of ἐπρίσθησαν. Or ἐπάρθησαν should be read, that is 'they were pierced', or 'fixed on the point of a javelin', from the verb πείρω, the passive participle of which is used by Homer.[14]

In his conjecture to leave this word out, Beza follows Erasmus and Calvin;[15] with the other conjecture, he seems to stand at the beginning of a long chain of commentators who use their imagination in finding an alternative to ἐπειράσθησαν that would fit better in the context.[16] Beza himself is part of this chain, for in 1582 he comes with another proposal. The last sentence ('vel legendum ...') is replaced:

> For what would be the use of this mention of temptation after the reference to the most severe capital punishments, which he also places after this? ... If there is room for conjecture, I would esteem that ἐπυρώθησαν should be read, 'they were burned'.[17]

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[14] "Tentati sunt, ἐπειράσθησαν. Ita in omnibus Graecis exemplaribus nostris scriptum erat, nec tamen possum aliter statuere quam ex margine irrepsisse in contextum, ubi quispiam pro ἐπρίσθησαν perperam annotarit ἐπειράσθησαν. Vel legendum ἐπάρθησαν, id est 'transfixi sunt', vel 'verubus infixi', a verbo πείρω, cuius participio passivo utitur Homerus." From 1556 onwards; in 1582, 'scriptum erat' is replaced by 'scribitur'. For Homer, see *Il.* 1.246; 5.399; 11.633; 21.577.

[15] See Erasmus' annotation 'Tentati sunt' on Heb 11:37 (from 1522 onwards); having noted its absence in Chrysostom and Theophylact, Erasmus explained the origin of ἐπειράσθησαν as a marginal gloss on ἐπρίσθησαν. Calvin himself explicitly follows Erasmus (Calvin, *Comm. Hebr.*, OE 19, p. 211 ll. 22–25; cf. p. xxvii). The omission of ἐπειράσθησαν is no longer a conjecture; cf. NA[27].

[16] Cf. Metzger, TC[2], pp. 603–604 (TC[1], pp. 674–675).

[17] "... Quorsum enim illud de tentatione, post acerbissimarum poenarum capitalium commemorationem, quas etiam postea subiicit? Sed et istud non habet Syrus interpres. Quod si quis est coniecturis locus, legendum putarem ἐπυρώθησαν, 'ustulati sunt'." The 1582 annotation erroneously reads 'vetus interpres'; this is corrected in 1589.

Influential in a different way was the conjecture on John 18:20. Beza observes a problem with the (Byzantine) reading ὅπου πάντοτε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέρχονται:

> From everywhere, πάντοθεν. The Vulgate and Erasmus have 'all', that is, πάντες. In the old manuscripts we read πάντοτε, but I think that either πάντες or πάντοθεν should be read. It [πάντοθεν] could easily be changed into πάντοτε by the copyists.[18]

In a rare exception to Beza's usual practice, this conjecture πάντοθεν is even adopted into the Greek text throughout (all editions) and translated as 'undique' ('from everywhere'). It is surprising to see Beza introduce and adopt a conjecture so easily.[19] Whereas it must be granted that the Byzantine reading πάντοτε is not very elegant here—it can be explained as mechanical accommodation to the same word πάντοτε in the same verse—, there are no serious arguments against πάντες. Beza does not even explain what is wrong with either πάντοτε or πάντες; he possibly prefers πάντοθεν on stylistic grounds only. The annotation only shows the importance he attaches to 'transcriptional proximity': he conceivably considers πάντοτε and πάντοθεν to be so close to each other that his emendation is hardly more than the correction of a simple writing error.

In Mark 10:30, Beza spots an unevenness in the enumeration of 'houses and brothers ...', compared to verse 29. In his text, verse 29 mentions ἢ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, whereas verse 30 only mentions καὶ μητέρας. He knows the reading καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα from Stephanus' collations,[20] and likes the idea of having the same elements as in the preceding verse, but adds:

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[18] "Undique, πάντοθεν. Vulg[ata] et Eras[mus] omnes, id est πάντες. In vetustis codicibus legimus πάντοτε. Ego vero existimo vel legendum πάντες vel πάντοθεν, quod facile potuit a librariis mutari in πάντοτε" (from 1556 onwards).

[19] Cf. Wettstein's comment (*NTG* a.h.l.): "And so indeed he edited it against all manuscripts, what may astonish you" ("Et ita quidem, quod mireris, contra omnes codices edidit"). Beza's conjecture was followed in the Elzevir editions and in the *Statenvertaling*.

[20] The information given by Beza on this reading in 1556 agrees exactly with the margin of Stephanus' third edition. In 1565, as often, no individual manuscripts are mentioned any more.

> However I think that the plural καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας should
> be read, so that everything is promised a hundredfold.[21]

This small conjecture[22] nicely illustrates the degree of contextual
conformity Beza is inclined to expect.[23]

   One of the best-known and most influential instances of Bezan
conjectures occurs at Rom 7:6, where Beza's reading ἀποθανόν-
τος instead of ἀποθανόντες was to become a stock example of the
questionable quality of the *Textus Receptus*.[24] Beza however hard-
ly suggests being aware of making a conjecture. The normal text
of Rom 7:6a is Νυνὶ δὲ κατηργήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἀποθα-
νόντες ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα ("But now we are discharged from the
law, dead to that which held us captive"—RSV).[25] Beza's Greek

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[21] "Ego vero legendum puto καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας plurali numero, ut
omnia centuplicia promittantur" (from 1556 onwards).

[22] From Bowyer's note (*Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 64; 1812, p. 164) it
would seem that Beza found the reading καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας in some
manuscripts, but this applies only to Johann Albrecht Bengel, whom he mentions
as well. Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.) indicates mins. "51. 61. 69. Versio *Copt. Theo-
phylactus* editus" and "73. Versio *Copt*." for the reading καὶ μητέρας καὶ
πατέρας.

[23] In Beza's Greek text, verse 29 also contains the words ἢ γυναῖκα which
have no corresponding element in verse 30. Beza points out Erasmus' (correct)
opinion that it is an addition from Matt (19:29 𝔐) or Luke (18:29); see ASD
VI–5, p. 410 ll. 539–544.

[24] It is mentioned and discussed by Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.); Bengel also di-
scusses the case in his *Nöthige Antwort auf dasjenige, was etliche Gelehrten
wider das, von ihm revidirte, Griechische Neue Testament vorgebracht haben*
(1745; cf. *Gnomon* a.h.l.). Tischendorf (Ti⁸ a.h.l.) seems to depend on Wettstein
and Bengel. It is not discussed by van Manen and van de Sande Bakhuyzen.
Baljon does not mention it in *Tekst*, but remarks in his *NTG*: "[the reading]
αποθανοντος is due to an error by Beza, as it seems" ("αποθανοντος ex errore ut
videtur Bezae"). Metzger (TC¹, p. 514; not in TC²) refers to Tischendorf: "The
AV rendering seems to imply ἀποθανόντος, for which there is no manuscript
authority, but which seems to be derived from a conjecture of Beza, who, fol-
lowing Erasmus, misunderstood a comment of Chrysostom (see Tischendorf's
note *ad loc*.)" Metzger's remark agrees with Scrivener's reconstruction of the
Greek text 'behind' the KJV (cf. Scrivener, *Authorized Edition*, p. 251). The KJV
is anticipated in the Geneva Bible, which has "we are delivered from the Lawe,
he being dead in whom we were holden" (emphasis added). Here too, the
Geneva Bible clearly depends on Beza. In a footnote, Metzger points out that the
Elzevir text of 1624 reads ἀποθανόντος. He might have noted that the Bezan
text already reads it in all folio editions.

[25] Only one variant reading is known, τοῦ θανάτου D ... ('mortis') instead of
ἀποθανόντες: "But now we are discharged from the law *of death* in which we
were held captive." Interesting is Wettstein's explanation of this D reading: he
thinks that the change from ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ θανάτου to ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀπο-
θάνοντος may have been caused by corruption of the Latin. The Latin column of

text, surprisingly, has the unattested ἀποθανόντος instead of ἀποθανόντες. The change is small, only one letter, but the grammatical and exegetical consequences are great. The nominative plural ἀποθανόντες, an apposition to the implied subject of κατηργήθημεν, becomes a genitive singular. There is another surprise: Beza translates the phrase as "Nunc autem liberati sumus a Lege, mortuo *eo* in quo detinebamur" ("But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held"—KJV).[26] Whereas any reader would ordinarily take ἀποθανόντος as modifying νόμου, Beza treats it as a genitive absolute (which becomes an ablative absolute in his Latin translation), consisting in the single participle ἀποθανόντος, to which he supplies ἐκείνου. What makes Beza adopt this reading, and what does he intend with it? In his view the expression 'mortuo *eo*', 'that being dead', refers to 'sin'. Thus another problem arises, for the Greek ἀποθανόντος ἐκείνου is masculine, whereas ἁμαρτία, the Greek term it is supposed to refer to, is feminine. Beza's reasoning is thus rather complicated, as is his solution once he draws the conclusion that a text with ἀποθανόντες does not yield an acceptable meaning.

First he discusses three ways to give a meaning to the normal reading ἀποθανόντες, which he admits is attested "with great agreement".[27] The first two are, in translation: 'We who are dead are discharged from the law in which we were held' and 'We are discharged from the law in which we, as dead, were held'. The main problem for Beza is the unprecedented idea that people are called dead for whom actually only sin is dead. The third way is Theophylact's, followed by Erasmus, which is to translate 'We are discharged from the law, dead [= (we) having died] to that in

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the Claromontanus, for instance, has *mortis*. In Latin, the change from 'mortui' into 'mortis' is much smaller and can easily be imagined as a scribal error (Wettstein, *Prolegomena*, p. 37 (also *NTG* 2, p. 5): "... nimirum quia in Latina versione facili lapsu librariorum pro 'mortui' scriptum erat 'mortis' "). Had Beza not appealed to Chrysostom's reading, one would think that Beza took the Latin word 'mortui' as his point of departure, for it is remarkable that this 'mortui' represents both ἀποθανόντες and ἀποθανόντος (or νεκροί and νεκροῦ).

[26] KJV clearly depends on Beza's Greek text here, which was taken over in the Elzevir editions; perhaps even Beza's translation influenced the KJV choice of 'being dead' instead of 'having died'. In Beza's translation 'eo' is put in italic type in order to mark it as an addition compared to the Greek source.

[27] "summo consensu" (from 1556 onwards).

which we were held.'[28] Beza remarks that in this interpretation ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ has to be supplied for ἐν ᾧ and therefore dismisses it:

> I demand an example of a similar ellipsis in a connecting construction, and I do not see what room there could be for a much more obscure epexegesis than the previous ones.[29]

He then appeals to Chrysostom's reading ἀποθανόντος and even states that it must have been the received reading in Chrysostom's day:

> There remains Chrysostom's reading: he reads ἀποθανόντος, without mentioning any other reading, so that it altogether appears that this reading was then without disagreement the received one, though [1565] in the printed copies of Chrysostom and [1556] in Basil[30] I found written once and again ἀποθανόντες, which is perhaps due to the fault of those who corrected the books of the ancient commentators according to the Greek copies of the Gospel text. Thus Chrysostom reads ἀποθανόντος, [1565] as Erasmus testifies, and as the commentary itself confirms [1556]. I approve of this reading to such a degree that I do not doubt that it is genuine [1565: 'did not hesitate to restore it'].[31]

Beza's use of Chrysostom as a source is very questionable here. Though he consults his commentary directly—he even cites more of it than Erasmus—and notices that ἀποθανόντος only occurs in the commentary and not as part of the biblical text that is quoted,

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[28] This is also the modern understanding (e.g. Joseph Fitzmyer, *Romans*, p. 459; Ulrich Wilckens, *Römer* 2, p. 69). The only discussion is whether the relative ᾧ is masculine (referring to τοῦ νόμου), or neuter (generic); cf. Wilckens, p. 69 n. 279. The parallel νόμῳ ἀπέθανον in Gal 2:19, not mentioned by Beza, suggests the former.

[29] "At ego similis eclipsis exemplum requiro in constructione transitiva, nec video quis locus esse possit epexegesi multo obscuriori quam essent superiora." From 1556 onwards; in 1582 the words 'At ... requiro' are replaced by 'Sed dura est haec ellipsis'.

[30] Basil, *De bapt.* 1.2.13 (PG 31, cc. 1545 D and 1548 B); 1.2.16 (PG 31, c. 1553 C); 1.2.18 (PG 31, c. 1557 B).

[31] "[1556] Superest Chrysostomi lectio qui legit ἀποθανόντος, nulla diversae lectionis facta mentione; ut omnino appareat eam lectionem fuisse tum sine controversia receptam. Quanvis [1565] in Chrysostomi exemplaribus excusis, et [1556] apud Basilium semel atque iterum inveniam scriptum ἀποθανόντες, eorum fortassis vitio qui ad Graeca exemplaria euangelici contextus emendarunt antiquorum interpretum libros. Legit igitur Chrysostomus ἀποθανόντος, [1565] Erasmo teste, et interpretatione ipsa id comprobante, [1556] quam lectionem ita probo ut germanam esse non dubitem [1565: 'eam reponere non dubitarim' instead of 'germanam esse non dubitem']."

he still maintains that it is Chrysostom's reading.[32] He should have known better, for he actually cites a sentence from Chrysostom that follows a passage proving him wrong.[33] Instead, he goes to considerable length to defend his error, even invoking the possibility that the Father's lemma has been corrected (sc. corrupted) towards the usual text.

Beza does not make the obvious choice of taking ἀποθανόντος together with the preceding word νόμου ('the law having died'), as Erasmus does.[34] He even states that in doing so "either Erasmus or someone else corrupted" the reading.[35] For Beza textual 'corruption' ('depravatio') is not limited to textual criticism and different *readings*, but encompasses what he considers to be false *ways of reading*. In line with his commentary on verse 4, Beza finds it impossible to say that the law is dead. Perhaps even more than contextual reasoning is at stake, namely the background of Calvinist doctrine, according to which God's law can function as the norm for a Christian life. Beza's solution is to consider the

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[32] The same misunderstanding—or dependency on Erasmus' annotation—is found in Gagny, *Scholia* (1543), p. 12ᵛ: "Surely Chrysostom reads ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀποθανόντος, that is 'from the law which is dead', for we are of course discharged from the law which is dead" ("Certe Chrysostomus legit ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀποθανόντος, id est 'a lege mortua', quod scilicet a lege mortua soluti sumus").

[33] Chrysostom comments: "For he does not say, 'the Law is abolished', nor, 'the flesh is abolished', but 'we are set free'. And how are we set free? Because the old man, held by sin, has died (ἀποθανόντος) and is buried. For he made this clear by saying: 'Dead (ἀποθανόντες) to that in which we were held' " (*Hom. Rom.* 12, PG 60, c. 498: Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, ὅτι Κατηργήθη ὁ νόμος, οὐδ' ὅτι Κατηργήθη ἡ σάρξ, ἀλλ' ὅτι *Κατηργήθημεν ἡμεῖς*. Καὶ πῶς ἡμεῖς κατηργήθημεν; Τοῦ κατεχομένου παρὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀνθρώπου παλαιοῦ ἀποθανόντος καὶ ταφέντος· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐδήλωσεν εἰπών· Ἀποθανόντες ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα). Cf. Wettstein's comments (*NTG* a.h.l.): "If [Chrysostom] had read as Beza thinks, he would have written ἀποθανόντος τοῦ κατέχοντος νόμου, not τοῦ κατεχομένου ἀνθρωπου" ("Si ... legisset, ut Beza putat, scripsit ἀποθανόντος τοῦ κατέχοντος νόμου, non τοῦ κατεχομένου ἀνθρωπου"). Note that Wettstein omits (accidentally) παλαιοῦ between ἀνθρώπου and ἀποθανόντος. Wettstein does not notice that Beza even wants to detach ἀποθανόντος from τοῦ νόμου; his remark is correct if applied to Erasmus' annotation.

[34] Erasmus, *Annotationes* (1535 only, in the addition to the annotation 'In qua detinebamur' on Rom 7:6). Erasmus' error, taking ἀποθανόντος as Chrysostom's reading, is occasioned by his reflexive tendency to look for confirmation in the commentary. He finds it in the words "The chain by which we were held has died and fallen away" (Ὁ δεσμὸς, δι' οὗ κατεχόμεθα, ἐνεκρώθη καὶ διερρύη, ...—*Hom. Rom.* 12, PG 60, c. 498), which are applied to sin. Beza is misled by the same words, and fails to read attentively what comes just before.

[35] "eam ... vel Erasmus vel aliquis alius depravavit" (from 1556 onwards).

participle ἀποθανόντος as a genitive absolute on its own. It seems unlikely that he did not sense the obvious connection in Greek ears between νόμου and ἀποθανόντος, although in Latin 'law' is feminine ('lex'), but Beza explicitly disagrees with Erasmus, who explains Chrysostom's reading as 'a lege emortua' ('from the law which is dead'). His choice, forced though it may seem, is dictated by the sense he wants to give to the passage: 'we are discharged from the law, since *sin* is dead'. The direct Latin equivalent would be 'peccato mortuo' ('sin being dead'); the problem of the absent second element is solved by specific references to similar constructions in Demosthenes and Plutarch and in general by the 'subauditur' technique: Beza supplies ἐκείνου.[36]

There is another slight problem with Beza's (supposed) genitive absolute, for it is masculine (or neuter), whereas ἁμαρτία, to which it is supposed to refer, is feminine. Beza does not address this problem directly, perhaps because in Latin 'sin' ('peccatum') is neuter. The explanation he would have given appears at another point of his annotation, when he discusses an alternative, non-conjectural solution to the textual and exegetical problem. He considers the possibility that ἐν ᾧ stands for ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ ('for that in which') and sees a way to have this masculine (or neuter) form refer to 'sin', even in Greek:

> If someone prefers to read ἀποθανόντες because of the agreement of the copies, and to supply ἐκείνῳ, let him interpret [or 'translate'] it thus: 'But now we are delivered from the law, dead to that in which we were held', clearly to sin, our previous husband, that is, in so far as we were that husband.[37] And it is not a problem that ἁμαρτία is feminine, *since he* [Paul] *is as it were talking about a husband*.[38]

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[36] Cf. his Latin translation, in which 'eo' is supplied, but marked as an addition compared to the Greek source.

[37] In Beza's view, sin is part of those who sin; thus, at the level of the metaphor, the wife (the sinner) can be said to be the husband (sin) to some degree.

[38] "[1556] Si cui ... potius placuerit legere ἀποθανόντες propter exemplarium consensum, et subaudire ἐκείνῳ, is ita interpretetur, "Nunc vero liberi sumus a lege, mortui [ei] in quo detinebamur", peccato scilicet [1565: 'videlicet'], priori [1565 'posteriori' (ex err.); 1589: 'priori'] nostro marito [1589], id est quatenus eramus ille maritus. [1556] Neque obstat quod ἁμαρτία sit foeminini [1582: 'foeminei'] generis, nam tanquam de [1565 'quum de ea tanquam' instead of 'nam tanquam')] marito loquatur" (emphasis added in the translation). Note that Beza writes ἁμαρτία as the form which ἁμαρτία would have if it were written instead of the (equally hypothetical) ἐκείνῳ.

According to Beza, ἁμαρτία plays the role of the first husband, whose death liberates his wife. So his solution is to allow for some degree of mingling in this metaphor between elements of its tenor and its vehicle. The reference to the metaphor of 'sin' and 'husband' also provides the clue for understanding his stubborn exegesis. He clings one-sidedly to what he considers to be the underlying metaphor of the entire passage Rom 7:1–6. He even provides a nice diagram of this metaphor.[39]

In conclusion, Beza forces the text into the straightjacket of an unequivocal and consistent metaphor and becomes the victim of his own interpretation to such a degree that he even fails to notice that he is actually engaged in conjectural emendation. Or perhaps he senses the vulnerability of his exegesis, for his own words as just cited, through which he tries to offer an acceptable interpretation of the normal text, show that he is aware of the singularity of ἀποθανόντος and finds it problematic. His conjecture however is retained in the text and translation of his later editions, and was even taken over in the Elzevirs' editions of the *Textus Receptus*. If anything, it shows the failure of Beza's exegesis of Rom 7:1–6, a passage in which Paul's use of analogy still poses problems to present-day exegetes.[40]

Less well known than Rom 7:6 is another instance in which Beza's exegesis leads to conjectural emendation. At Gal 4:17, Beza translates ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐκκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε as "Depereunt vos non bene, imo excludere nos volunt, ut se depereatis" ("They zealously seek you in no good way, but want to exclude us, so that you zealously seek them").[41] On one important point this translation does not

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[39] Somewhat reduced:

	first marriage	second marriage
husband (*maritus*)	sin (*peccatum*)	the Spirit (*Spiritus*)
wife (*uxor*)	flesh (*caro*)	new man (*novus homo*)
children (*liberi*)	sin (as deeds etc.) (*peccata*)	fruits of the Spirit (*fructus Spiritus*)

Similar diagrams can be found at 2 Cor 5:1–10 and Gal 4:21–31.

[40] For an overview of approaches and a not very successful exegetical solution, see John Earnshaw, 'Romans 7.1–4'.

[41] From 1556 onwards; the translation is not changed in later editions. αὐτούς (instead of αὐτούς) is the form printed in accordance with the editorial conventions of the sixteenth and seventeenth century (see above, p. 235 n. 91).

agree with the Greek text he knows from other editions and
which is even printed in his second edition, for it reflects ἐκκλεῖ-
σαι ἡμᾶς and not ὑμᾶς.

In the preceding note, Beza expounds on the two types of
'zelotypia' ('jealous love') which he finds opposed in Gal
4:17–20: Paul's selfless love for the Galatians and the selfish way
his opponents try to win them.[42] He then explains the meaning of
ἐκκλεῖσαι and the metaphor as he sees it:

> The verb 'to shut out' very well fits a metaphor derived from
> jealous people who have this improper and less honest jealous love.
> Therefore I did not translate ζηλοῦσιν with the old translator [the
> Vulgate] as 'aemulantur' ('they envy')—for why would they do
> so?—nor with Erasmus as 'ambiunt' ('they solicit'), which would
> not seem sufficiently expressive. In like manner Erasmus notes that
> he read in some manuscripts ἐγκλεῖσαι, 'to include', which would
> refer to the law, in which they wanted to hem in the Galatians. But
> this [reading], I say, does not fit at all the beautiful metaphor that is
> found here. And I do not doubt that not only this error was made
> because the metaphor was not understood, but also another one.
> For though in all manuscripts ὑμᾶς, 'you', is written, the meaning
> requires that we read ἡμᾶς, 'us'. For a suitor is not said to shut out
> his woman friend from a rival, but the rival from his woman friend,
> the way in which these [rivals] tried to shut out Paul from the Gala-
> tians. For Paul says, 'that you would transfer all love from me to
> them'. That is the opposition between the personalities ...[43]

The annotation clearly shows that ἡμᾶς is a Bezan conjecture,
though a rather small one, for the interchange of ὑμᾶς and ἡμᾶς is
very common in scribal transmission. Once again Beza's own exe-

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[42] Cf. Beza's annotation on John 2:17 (from 1556 onwards), where he
expounds on the various meanings of ζῆλος, ζηλῶ and ζηλωτής in the NT.

[43] "Excludendi verbum mire convenit metaphorae a zelotypis sumptae, in illa
quidem sinistra et minus honesta zelotypia. Quamobrem etiam ζηλοῦσιν non
converti 'aemulantur' cum vetere interprete; quorsum enim hoc? neque cum
Erasmo 'ambiunt', quod non satis videatur expressum. Itaque quod annotat
Erasmus se in quibusdam codicibus legisse ἐγκλεῖσαι, id est 'includere', ut ad
legem referatur, qua volebant illi Galatas implicare, id, inquam, nullo modo
convenit institutae pulcherrimae translationi; nec dubito quin non intellecta
translatio causam praebuerit non modo huic errori, sed etiam alteri. Nam quum
in omnibus [1598] Latinis [1556] codicibus scriptum sit ὑμᾶς, 'vos', poscit
tamen sententia ut legamus ἡμᾶς, 'nos'. Neque enim amicam a rivali, sed rivalem
ab amica dicitur procus excludere. Quomodo isti Paulum a Galatis conabantur
excludere, ut, inquit Paulus [1565: 'Dicit [1582: 'Addit'] enim Paulus']: *ut
omnem amorem a me in ipsos transferatis*. Haec enim est antithesis personarum:
..." (from 1556 onwards).

gesis, more precisely, his strict application of a metaphor, causes him to be engaged in conjectural emendation.[44] He rejects both alternative explanations and variant readings *because* they move away from the 'expressive' force of the 'beautiful metaphor'.[45]

In 1589 and 1598 ἡμᾶς is actually adopted into the Greek text. There is a small but remarkable addition in 1598: 'all manuscripts' become 'all Latin manuscripts', thus suggesting that the reading ἡμᾶς is based on Greek manuscript attestation. This clarification is wrong of course,[46] and hides the fact that Beza actually altered the Greek text on the basis of conjecture only. It is hard to say whether it is an instance of *pia fraus* or just an inadvertency. The latter seems somewhat more likely: when preparing his fifth edition Beza mainly uses his fourth, and in his professed reluctance towards conjectural emendation he simply assumes that the Greek text in his own edition is based on manuscript evidence.

11.2 HARMONISING

Beza regularly observes that a text is in conflict with another. The conflict itself can take many forms, depending on the type of 'information' that is to be dealt with and also on the sources that are involved. New Testament texts can be at odds with historical data of all sorts, derived from Strabo, Josephus or other sources.[47]

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[44] Bowyer, who mentions Beza's conjecture, also records Owen's counter-argument: "The text means ἐκκλεῖσαι ὑμᾶς [ἀπ' ἐμοῦ] θέλουσιν" (*Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 370; 1812, p. 511; cf. NIB: "What they want is to alienate you *from us* ...").

[45] Beza's reading is mentioned as a marginal reading in the KJV; cf. Backus, *Reformed Roots*, p. 136.

[46] Baljon (*NTG* a.h.l.) remarks correctly that minuscules can be found which have ἡμᾶς—as can be expected—but that the edited text (TR) depends on a Bezan conjecture.

[47] The history outside the Bible is decisive in Beza's early conjecture on Luke 2:2 (see below, p. 331 n. 33). Geographic and historical information plays a role in his conjecture on Acts 8:26 (1556 only; see my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation', pp. 120–121). At Luke 24:13, there may be an error in the indication of the distance between Jerusalem and Emmaus, for Beza knows a different number of stadia from Josephus (from 1565 onwards). At Mark 12:42, numismatic problems make Beza suspect that the explanation ὅ ἐστιν κοδράντης is incorrect, *and therefore* a secondary addition (in 1556 and 1565 only). Van der Beke Callenfels (*Beoordeeling*, p. 90) states that Beza's conjecture is unnecessary if one accepts that Mark's indication of the value of the 'lepta' as a Roman 'quadrans'

Names, numbers and citations mentioned in the New Testament can conflict with the Old Testament sources from which they are taken. Narrative details sometimes diverge between the Gospels or between Acts and one of the Epistles. The observation of such problems is as old as biblical exegesis itself,[48] but they vexed Beza in particular, more than Calvin for instance, let alone Erasmus.

In the background stands Beza's view of Scripture. Given its inspired nature, the Bible is granted the highest authority, because of which a high degree of precision is expected. When extra-biblical information seems to contradict the biblical account, he considers the latter as more reliable almost by definition. For instance, when Josephus reports that Herodias was first married to 'Herod',[49] whereas the Gospels mention Philip instead (Matt 14:3; Mark 6:17), Beza comments that Josephus "disagrees with our [sources], *that is with the truth*".[50] However some discrepancies with extra-biblical sources do not easily go away, and the Bible also contains internal contradictions. The ultimate means of resolving them is conjectural emendation, that is, to ascribe them to errors of transmission. Beza is not the first to do so,[51] nor the last,[52] but through his annotations, especially in his earlier edi-

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is merely approximate. Beza's main source for numismatic calculations is Guillaume Budé's treatise on coins and weights *De asse et partibus eius* (1514). The newly accumulated knowledge sometimes leads to remarkable observations. It is noted for instance that in the feeding of the five thousand (Mark 6:32–44), the two hundred denarii mentioned in 6:37 could never suffice for such a multitude. Faced with this miscalculation on the part of the disciples, Beza explains that they were speaking "out of conjecture" ("ex coniectura"), a proper recension being possible only after the crowd was seated and conveniently divided into groups of fifty and hundred.

[48] On the way the Church Fathers dealt with the differences between the Gospels, see Helmut Merkel, *Widersprüche* and *Pluralität*.

[49] *Ant*. 18.5.4.

[50] "dissentiens a nostris, *id est a veritate*" (emphasis added; in the annotation on Mark 6:22; from 1556 onwards).

[51] For Origen for instance, the assumption of errors of transmission is part of the means by which contradictions in the Bible can be explained (see Merkel, *Widersprüche*, pp. 94–121, esp. p. 100); Eusebius's contribution is also interesting (*Widersprüche*, pp. 136–137.140.145–146). Besides such patristic discussions, many manuscript readings can be regarded as secondary alleviations of this kind of discrepancies (cf. Metzger, TC², p. 13*; TC¹, p. xxvii).

[52] Owen in Bowyer's collection (e.g. on Luke 5:30; *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 91; 1812, p. 201); Grotius for instance on Gal 2:1 (*Annotationes* 6, p. 555); Klaas Schilder in *Tegenstrijdigheden*.

tions, he appears as one of the most important representatives of 'harmonising' textual criticism. Various aspects deserve attention.

11.2.1 *The 'Hebrew truth'*

The problems related to Old Testament quotations can be divided into two categories; the first one concerns their attribution and the second their content. The well-known problem in Matt 27:9, of which we have already seen Erasmus' discussion (see above, p. 156), shows some typical reasoning by Beza when the attribution is problematic: words which are mainly from Zechariah are given as Jeremiah's. Already in 1556, he records Augustine's opinion that the text represents a lapse of memory.[53] He prefers the conjectural emendation—which however is not adopted in either Greek text or Latin translation—, according to which the original reading was διὰ τοῦ προφήτου. According to Beza, the transmitted reading διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου can be explained as the result of the adoption of a gloss: an inexperienced reader added Ἰερεμίου in the margin, which was subsequently adopted into the text, in spite of its being manifestly wrong. Obviously Beza does not choose the harder reading here (or better: the reading the origin of which is harder to explain),[54] and he has to underline the conjecturality of his reconstruction by stating that the error must have crept into the text very early. He typically uses the category of marginal glosses to formulate his conjecture.

Already in 1565, an alternative conjecture is added almost as an afterthought. Beza writes that the abbreviations for Jeremiah and Zechariah can be easily confounded. As he does not elaborate on this remark, it is not clear what he means by this addition: is he suggesting that Ζαχαρίου could have been the original text? It is also possible that he reckons with an intermediate step: an in itself correct marginal gloss may have become corrupted.

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[53] Augustine, *Cons.* 3.7.30 (CSEL 43, pp. 305). Beza also refers to Eusebius, *Dem. ev.* 10.4.13 (GCS 23, p. 463), but Eusebius actually assumes an error of transmission, not a possible lapse of memory by the evangelist.

[54] Even Augustine follows some intuition of the principle of the harder reading when he states that "there certainly was a reason for removing it [Jeremiah's name] from a number of manuscripts" ("cur ... de nonnullis codicibus tolleretur, fuit utique causa"—*Cons.* 3.7.29 (CSEL 43, p. 305 ll. 5–6)).

Like Erasmus, Beza also knows Jerome's opinion on Matt 13:35.[55] The problematic attribution of a combined quotation to Isaiah alone in Mark 1:2 is solved differently by Beza.[56] Moreover, there are some remarkable changes between 1565 and 1582. In 1556, Beza writes:

> 'In the prophets', ἐν προφήταις. Thus we find it written in all our manuscripts except the second and the eighth,[57] in which we read ἐν Ἠσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ, 'in Isaiah, the prophet'; in this way the old Translator [the Vulgate] rendered this place, and also Jerome cites it thus [in his letter] to Pammachius *De optimo genere interpretandi*.[58] Thus the question arises why the evangelist names only one [prophet], when he brings up two prophecies, one of course from Malachi and the other from Isaiah. In order that we do not toil in vain in explaining this tangle, it is preferable to read the plural ἐν προφήταις, favoured by the authority of so many old manuscripts as well as Theophylact. ...[59]

Against Erasmus, who had expressed in his annotations a preference for the Vulgate reading even without knowing Greek attestation for it,[60] Beza makes a clear choice for the 'easier' reading 'in the prophets' in his first two editions. The reading is even

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[55] See above, p. 157. Matt 13:35 does not pose a problem for Beza, for in his Greek text the words from Ps 78 are not attributed to someone in particular. Jerome's opinion is mentioned in the annotation on Acts 7:16.

[56] Erasmus' 'solution' is based on the traditional view that Mark depends on Matthew. In his introduction of John the Baptist, Matthew has the citation only from Isaiah (Matt 3:3). Erasmus concludes that Mark put the quotation from Malachi before it, but limited himself to naming only the most famous prophet, Isaiah (in the annotation 'In Esaia propheta'—ASD VI–5, p. 354 ll. 87–92; from 1522 onwards).

[57] These numerals refer to Stephanus' manuscripts β´ (D) and η´ (L); the information is correct and agrees with Stephanus' margin. In 1565 the reference is changed into 'except two [manuscripts]'.

[58] Jerome, *Epist.* 57.9.2–3 (CSEL 54, p. 518 ll. 11–12.21–22).

[59] "[1556] In Prophetis, ἐν προφήταις. Ita scriptum reperimus in omnibus nostris codicibus vetustis, praeter secundum et octavum [1565: 'exceptis duobus'] in quibus legimus ἐν Ἠσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ, id est 'in Esaia propheta'; quo modo interpretatus est hunc locum vetus interpres, et citat quoque Hieronymum ad Pammachium De optimo genere interpretandi. Unde [1565: 'Hinc'] nata illa quaestio, cur geminum vaticinium adducens euangelista, unum scilicet [1566: 'videlicet'] ex Malachia, alterum ex Esaia, hunc tamen unum nominet. In quo nodo explicando ne frustra laboremus praestat plurali numero legere ἐν προφήταις, quum [1565: 'quod'] tot veterum codicum ac ipsius Theophylacti authoritas consentiat." For Theophylact, see PG 123, c. 493.

[60] Erasmus even overcomes his prejudice against 'latinizing' Greek manuscripts when he is informed that B reads ἐν τῷ Ἠσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ (see ASD VI–5, p. 354 ll. 77–80).

chosen *because* it is easier. However when he discovers that his own 'Codex Bezae' (D) confirms the reading ἐν Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ, he reconsiders the matter and writes in 1582:

> If there were some room for conjecture here, it would seem probable to me that the old reading 'in the prophet Isaiah' is genuine and that the place from Malachi, which crept from the margin into the text, is repeated here from Matt 11:10. Therefore it occurred that ἐν προφήταις was written here. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that only Isaiah's testimony is cited at Matt 3:3 as well as Luke 3:4 and John 1:15, where they discuss the beginning of John's ministry.[61]

Beza now accepts Erasmus' 'modern' insight that the reading ἐν τοῖς προφήταις[62] (A W *f*[13] 𝔐 etc.) is a scribal accommodation, but he does not follow his explanation that Mark allows himself some imprecision by naming only Isaiah's as the most renowned prophet.[63] Instead, he offers a conjecture, which comprises three or four stages:

1 the original text with ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ but without the quotation from Malachi;
2 a manuscript with the Malachi quotation as a marginal gloss;
3 a text with the gloss introduced into the text;
4 a scribal accommodation, ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, in order to account for the fact that the text now contains quotations from two prophets.[64]

Beza does not explicitly provide a motive for his conjecture, but it is a safe assumption that a text in which a quotation from Malachi is given under Isaiah's name is problematic to him. If original, it would mean that the author made an error. Thus con-

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[61] "Mihi ... si quis hic est coniecturae locus, sit verisimile veterem lectionem in Esaia propheta germanam esse, et quum ex albo irrepsisset in contextum locus Malachiae, hic repositam ex Matth. 11.10, unde factum fuisse ut hic scriberetur ἐν προφήταις; in qua sententia illud quoque me confirmat quod unius Esaiae testimonium et Matt. 3,3, et Luc. 3,4, et Ioh. 1,15, citatur, ubi de Iohanne ministerium suum ineunte disserunt."

[62] Both Beza and Erasmus have ἐν προφήταις instead of ἐν τοῖς προφήταις in their respective annotations; this agreement in error might indicate that Beza wrote his with his copy of Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum* open on his desk.

[63] Erasmus, annotation 'In Esaia propheta' (1535 addition—ASD VI–5, p. 352 ll. 62–65).

[64] On the last point Beza agrees with Erasmus and most modern critics: in the text with the combined quotation, the reading ἐν τοῖς προφήταις is clearly secondary.

jectural emendation, even if the printed text is not touched upon, appears as a means to safeguard the inerrancy of the text.[65]

Besides the problem of incorrect attributions, lack of exactness in quotation can be embarrassing. The same is true for information that is directly derived from a specific Old Testament text. In the case of the citations, so many variations are found that some freedom in borrowing must be allowed for. Yet problems are felt by Beza, especially when the meaning is changed.[66] Such problems can even be somewhat aggravated by the concept of *Hebraica veritas*.[67] Numerous New Testament citations are taken from the Septuagint, which sometimes diverges considerably from the Hebrew, but for Beza the Septuagint has less authority than the Hebrew text, just as the Vulgate has less authority than the Greek and can be evaluated by means of it. Thus in general he is more inclined to assume an error in the text of the Septuagint than in the Masoretic text, even when it implies that the error affects both LXX and NT. In such cases, he assumes that corruption has occurred, starting in either LXX or NT and subsequently influencing the other text.

A typical example is found in Beza's discussion of Acts 7:14. According to this text, Jacob and his family were seventy-five in

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[65] Beza's conjecture is mentioned by both Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.) and Bowyer (*Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 44; 1812, p. 137). Beza's conjecture differs from more modern ones such as Lachmann's ('Rechenschaft', p. 271 and *NTGL* 2, pp. vi–vii) or Keith Elliott's ('Mark 1.1–3') in that the latter focus on Mark's style and on the problems contained in verse 1 as well.

[66] In the annotation on Matt 27:9 (from 1556 onwards), Beza explicitly states that New Testament authors respected the meaning, not the words in their citations. Some differences are even to be expected, for the prophets predicted, whereas the evangelists narrated. By expressions such as 'eadem manente sententia' ('but the meaning does not change') which appear frequently in Beza's annotations, instances of textual variation are marked as unimportant. They are used for variation in quotation and for variant readings. At Matt 12:21 (in a 1582 addition) for instance Beza states that "the isles shall wait for his law" (Isa 42:4—KJV) does not differ in meaning from "in his name shall the Gentiles trust" (Matt 12:21—KJV). Similarly at Heb 10:5 / Ps 39:7 LXX he states on the word σῶμα: "as far as the meaning is concerned, the Greek translation does not change anything" ("quod ad sententiam attinet, Graeca interpretatio nihil variat"; e.g. in the 1565 edition; the case is actually more complicated, for the original LXX reading is probably ὠτία, which faithfully reflects the Hebrew אָזְנַיִם; see Karen Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Septuagint*, pp. 195–198).

[67] Such appeals to the 'Hebrew truth' (the Hebrew text as the philologically original text) go back to Jerome; see Christoph Markschies, 'Hieronymus', esp. pp. 145–148.

all. This information agrees with Gen 46:27 LXX, but not with the number seventy in the Hebrew text.[68] Moreover, the enumeration in Gen 46:8–27 invites commentators and others to do some precise calculations. In 1556 Beza comments:

> ... in contradictions of this kind recourse must be had to the sources from which the other translations are derived.[69] Thus I frankly profess that in this place the Greek edition seems to be corrupt to me. That this has happened is not surprising at all when there is so much ignorance of the Hebrew language—I am speaking about those who handled the Greek manuscripts. For I prefer to ascribe the error to them rather than to the Greek translators themselves.[70]

He concludes that the error lies in the fact that someone erroneously included Joseph's grand-children and even great-grandchildren in the number. Beza's description is typical in that he again has recourse to the assumption of a marginal gloss:

> ... the number read in the Greek manuscripts here is corrupt, and those who dared to add Joseph's grandchildren and great-grandchildren in order to complete the total, made the error greater, unless instead these five grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Joseph were perhaps annotated by someone in the margin, and afterwards crept into the text through the carelessness of copyists—something which happened at many places, as anyone can ascertain who compares the Hebrew with the Greek. And finally, someone who saw that the total was not correct and who could not go to the sources of the Hebrew truth corrected what he considered to be a manifest error. No one should be surprised that he was followed by so many from then onwards, for anyone who counted those names

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[68] Cf. the Geneva Bible (1560), following Whittingham's New Testament (1557): the translation in Acts 7:14 is "thre score and fiftene soules"; the marginal note: "After the Hebrewe, thre score and ten." This is one of the many marginal notes that are inspired by Beza's annotations.

[69] In 1582, Beza changes the words "from which the other translations are derived" ("unde reliquae translationes sunt derivatae") into "that is, the Hebrew text" ("id est ad Hebraicum contextum").

[70] "... in eiusmodi controversiis ad fontes esse recurrendum, unde reliquae translationes sunt derivatae. Itaque ingenue profiteor, editionem Graecam eo loco mihi videri depravatam, quod minime mirum est accidisse in tanta Hebraicae linguae imperitia; de iis loquor qui Graecos codices versarunt in manibus. Nam hunc errorem sane malim existimare ab istis ortum, quam ab ipsis Graecis interpretibus ..."

in the Greek text would think that he detected a manifest error in the total number.[71]

This explanation is unnecessary and also rather complicated in that it assumes the existence of Septuagint manuscripts in which Joseph's grand-children are explicitly mentioned. Beza's preference for explanations which involve marginal notes leads him astray. In this early version of the annotation, Beza assumes that Acts 7:14 was changed because of the change in Gen 46:27 LXX:

> As it appears to be thus from these conjectures, which are in my opinion not at all vain, it should certainly surprise no one that they subsequently also corrupted with the same reasoning this Lucan passage from this corrupted Mosaic one.[72]

From a present-day perspective, Beza seems entangled in a web of conjectures because of his idea that (1) only one text and one number can be correct, in this case the Hebrew of Gen 46:27 and (2) Luke cannot have followed an incorrect text.[73]

Beza revises his note for the third edition, taking into account Jerome's remark that in his day the Septuagint manuscripts still had 'seventy' and not the wrong number 'seventy-five' at the parallel text Deut 10:22,[74] and the fact that it is not easy to explain the wrong number in Genesis in a convincing way as a conscious scribal alteration. He therefore changes his opinion and now assumes that the error originated in the transmission of Luke's text. He agrees with Bertram's interesting conjecture:

> If someone were to ask how this place was corrupted already long ago, [I answer that] I am satisfied by the conjecture made by Cor-

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[71] "... corrupte legitur hic numerus in Graecis codicibus, et qui Iosephi nepotes et abnepotes ausi sunt adiicere, ut summam explerent, errorem auxerunt; nisi potius fortassis, quum ad marginem essent isti Iosephi nepotes et abnepotes quinque ab aliquo annotati, ac postea per librariorum incuriam in contextum irrepsissent (quod infinitis pene locis factum esse comperiet quisquis Hebraea cum Graecis comparabit) tandem repertus sit qui quum videret summam non convenire, nec Hebraicae veritatis fontes adire posset, errorem (ut existimabat) manifestum emendarit. Eum autem non est quod quisquam miretur tam multos porro sequutos esse, quum quisquis illa nomina in Graeco contextu numeraret, putaret se in summae numero manifestum errorem deprehendisse."

[72] "Quae quum ita se habere ex istis minime, ut opinor, vanis coniecturis appareat, nemini profecto mirum videri debet eosdem illos postea hunc Lucae locum ex illo Mosis depravato simili ratione corrupisse."

[73] According to Dominique Barthélemy, the number 'seventy' in the Masoretic Text of Gen 46:27 is secondary ('Tiqquné sopherim', pp. 106–108).

[74] Jerome, *Qu. hebr. Gen.* 46:27 (CCSL 72, p. 50 ll. 27–29).

nelius Bertramus, my closest colleague here in the Genevan Church. He believes that Luke did not write πέντε but πάντας, a particle which Moses also expressed ...[75]

It would seem that the conjecture also pleases him because it establishes an even closer agreement between Acts 7:14 and Gen 46:27.

When the discrepancy does not involve the Septuagint and is limited to the Hebrew and the New Testament text, Beza regularly assumes that something is amiss in the latter. In Matt 1:23 a prophecy by Isaiah (Isa 7:14) is used by Matthew, but with a striking difference from the Hebrew 'original': instead of reflecting וְקָרָאת ('you (f.) will call' or 'she will call'),[76] the text reads καλέσουσιν ('they will call').[77] This incongruity is more than Beza is willing to accept. He adopts καλέσεις, translated as 'vocabis' (already in 1556).[78] In 1556 he justifies this editorial intervention as follows:

> I know that in most copies καὶ καλέσουσι is read, that is, 'and they will call', or 'and he [Jesus] will be called', which reading was also followed by Justin Martyr[79] ... But as our Stephanus noted that some old copies agree with the Hebrew, and as great force would seem to lie in this apostrophe by the prophet, seized by God's Spirit, in which he addresses himself to the Virgin who would be

[75] "Quod siquis roget quinam hic locus iam olim fuerit depravatus, perplacet mihi Bertrami Cornelii, mei in hac Ecclesia Genevensi collegae coniunctissimi, coniectura, qui Lucam putat non πέντε sed πάντας scripsisse, quam particulam ut maxime necessaria expressit etiam Moses; ..."

[76] The form וְקָרָאת presents some grammatical problems, for which see *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, § 74g. LXX shows variant readings.

[77] Several reasons may actually have prompted the writer of the first Gospel to reject καλέσεις or καλέσει in favour of καλέσουσιν: in the first place a missionary motive is discernible in that the prophet is made to predict that the title 'Emmanuel' will be given to Jesus by many people, which would make it sound like a confession; in the second place, and more likely, the plural καλέσουσιν ('they will call') may have been chosen because of the plural μεθ' ἡμῶν ('with us') in the literal translation of 'Emmanuel' provided within the same sentence (this is Chrysostom's idea, transmitted by Erasmus, 1516; see ASD VI–5, p. 92 ll. 627–630); in the third place, even more likely, Joseph is to call the child 'Jesus' (verses 21.25), not 'Emmanuel'; at the same time, a third person plural is introduced in verse 21, 'he will save his people from their sins', to which καλέσουσιν corresponds nicely (that is, verse 23a concerns Joseph, while verse 23b concerns the people).

[78] Geneva Bible 1560: "they shal call", but with a marginal note "*Or, thou*".

[79] Justin Martyr, *Dial*. 66.2 (PTS 47, p. 184 l. 10). The same reading is found in Epiphanius, *Anc*. 32.10 (GCS 25, p. 42 ll. 5–10) and 116.2 (p. 143 l. 28).

> born so many centuries later as if she were present, I have followed
> my own judgement in this matter, without—in my opinion—any
> damage to the meaning.[80]

From Stephanus' edition, Beza could only know that καλέσεις is
the reading in Stephanus' 'second manuscript', that is, Codex
Bezae (D). It is not likely that Henri's collations contained further
attestation for this reading.

In 1582, a remarkable change takes place: Beza still points out
that καλέσουσι is the best attested reading, both in Greek manu-
scripts and patristic sources, but he now drops the reference to
following his own judgement, and writes:

> But it is preferable to follow the received reading, so that it is an
> apostrophe by the prophet, seized by God's Spirit, in which he
> addresses himself to the Virgin who would be born so many centu-
> ries later as if she were present, which has great force.[81]

With 'the received reading', Beza obviously intends καλέσεις.
This change in Beza's annotation was commented on very criti-
cally already by Wettstein,[82] since within a few decades, a very
weakly attested reading is turned into the received one. Beza actu-
ally does not hide the fact that the reading is weakly attested, but
it remains remarkable that he can treat a reading adopted by him-
self as 'received'. It is possible that he felt the license to do so
having noticed the confirmation of καλέσεις in D, but this is an

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[80] "Scio in plerisque exemplaribus legi καὶ καλέσουσι, id est 'et vocabunt'
vel 'et vocabitur'. Quam etiam lectionem sequitur Iustinus Martyr ... quum
annotarit Stephanus noster nonnulla antiqua exemplaria cum Hebraeo consen-
tire, et haec apostrophe prophetae Spiritu Dei correpti, et virginem post tot
secula nascituram, quasi praesentem alloquentis, magnam vim habere videatur,
sequutus sum in hac re iudicium meum, nulla (ut opinor) sensus iniuria" (1556;
the annotation is changed in every edition).

[81] "Sed praestat receptam lectionem sequi, ut sit apostrophe prophetae Spiri-
tu Dei correpti, et virginem post tot secula nascituram, quasi praesentem, allo-
quentis. Quod magnam vim habet" (from 1582 onwards).

[82] Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.): "Thus he understands that reading to be 'received'
which he himself, 'following his own judgement', was the first to print against
most manuscripts. It remains a fact, however, that no editor of his century or the
following one has followed the reading received by Beza." ("Ubi per *receptam
lectionem* eam intelligit, quam ipse, *suum judicium sequutus*, invitis plerisque
exemplaribus primus typis ediderat. Bonum tamen factum, quod nemo huius et
superioris seculi Editorum lectionem a Beza receptam secutus est.") Note the
irony in the expression 'the reading received by Beza'.

unlikely conjecture, for Beza does not refer to his own manuscript in later editions.

There is no text-critical reasoning, only a matter of preference, in which the criterion is agreement with the Hebrew (and LXX) text of Isa 7:14. It is further important for Beza that the text expresses an exception to the rule that the name of a child is given by the father.

At Matt 27:10, Beza suggests that the reading ἔδωκα, which he knows only from the Syriac, is original, as it agrees with the repeated use of the first person singular in the Old Testament source, Zech 11:13.[83] In Rom 11:9, Paul cites Ps 68:23–24 LXX. Beza notes two problems: the LXX Greek differs from the Hebrew (Ps 69:23–24), but even Paul's citation differs from LXX. Especially the words καὶ εἰς θήραν do not have a corresponding element in the Hebrew.[84] Therefore Beza supposes that the phrase started its life as a marginal gloss, perhaps taken from one of the other Greek editions of the Old Testament. For Beza, Origen's remark that Paul added the words himself and also omitted לפניהם is unacceptable: "as if the apostle published some new version".[85]

At Matt 12:20–21, which is part of a citation from Isa 42, Beza uses the assumption of a homoeoteleuton error to bring OT and NT closer together:

> At this place the remainder of this verse as it is read in Hebrew is omitted, either because the evangelists would not usually insist on every single word, or through the error of a copyist; since the preceding verse [Isa 42:3, cited in Matt 12:20], as well as the first part of this one [Isa 42:4, omitted in Matt 12:21], end with the noun κρίσιν, he could easily leave out an entire line when writing. Those who compare old manuscript books with printed ones know best how often this happened to copyists.[86]

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[83] A suggestion added in the 1589 edition; it may have been made by Piscator, for the passage is marked with an asterisk. It is followed by the words "But come, let us not diverge from the received reading" ("Sed age, a recepta lectione ne recedamus").

[84] The problem that vexes Beza is nicely visible in the layout of NA[27]: καὶ εἰς θήραν is not put in italics, that is, not marked as being part of the Old Testament quotation.

[85] "... quasi apostolus novam aliquam versionem edat" (from 1565 onwards). For Origen, see *Comm. Rom.* 8.8 (PG 14, c. 1180 B–C).

[86] "Omissa est hoc loco pars altera huius versiculi, ita ut legitur in Hebraeis, sive quod euangelistae non soleant singulis verbis insistere, sive librarii culpa,

The way Beza puts his observation betrays that he regards the printed text as the standard with which manuscripts are evaluated. It is the printed text that functions as 'received text'.

In Rev 3:7, it is again the *Hebraica veritas* that makes Beza propose a conjecture, even though there is no direct quotation. Beza writes:

> 'Who has David's key': ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖδα τοῦ Δαβίδ. I suspect that ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖδα οἴκου Δαβίδ should be read, 'who has the key of the house of David', as it is written at Isa 22:22, which no doubt is the place that is explained allegorically here. ...[87]

In 1556, Beza's conjecture is τοῦ οἴκου Δαβίδ; the article is dropped in 1565, perhaps in order to enhance the transcriptional probability.

Other examples could be added,[88] but Beza's way of dealing with the problems of Old Testament quotations is clear enough: he can indulge in far-going conjectural emendation in order to assure agreement between OT source and NT text. The conjectures are mostly contained in his annotations only because of his principle not to change the text.

The discrepancies between Old and New Testament go further than inexact quotations,[89] for the history narrated in the Old Testament can also pose problems. In his annotation on Mark 2:26 Beza notices that an episode of David's life is narrated as taking place 'when Abiathar was high priest', whereas in 1 Sam 21:1–6

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qui, propterea quod nomen κρίσιν et superiorem versiculum et istius priorem partem terminat, idcirco facile potuit inter scribendum integram lineam praetermittere. Quod quam saepe librariis usuvenerit, norunt optime qui veteres codices manuscriptos cum excusis comparant." From 1565 onwards; in 1582, Beza adds a source: Jerome, *Epist.* 121.2.6–7 (CSEL 56/1, p. 10 ll. 2–14). Cf. Erasmus' annotation on Matt 12:18 ('Ecce puer meus'), ASD VI–5, p. 214 ll. 518–522 (also inspired by Jerome).

[87] " 'Qui habet clavem Davidis', ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖδα τοῦ Δαβίδ. Suspicor legendum ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖδα τοῦ [1565: 'τοῦ' omitted] οἴκου Δαβίδ, 'qui habet clavem domus David', ut scriptum est Es. 22.f.22 qui locus non dubium est quin allegorice explicetur hoc in loco. ..." (from 1556 onwards).

[88] E.g. Luke 4:18 (from 1556 onwards); Acts 2:24 (from 1556 onwards); Acts 2:28 (from 1565 onwards).

[89] At Matt 10:25 Beza prefers the reading Βεελζεβούβ instead of Βεελζεβούλ. He refers to the Vulgate reading and to Stephanus' 'second manuscript' (an error in Stephanus' third edition, for the reading is only found in the Complutensian Polyglot, Stephanus' α´, not in any Greek manuscript). More importantly, he prefers Βεελζεβούβ because of 2 Kgs 1:2 (בַּעַל זְבוּב).

Ahimelech is mentioned. He plays with the idea that father Abia-
thar and son Ahimelech (1 Chr 24:6) actually had double names[90]
or that the services were fulfilled by two priests. Apparently such
explanations are still felt to be somewhat far-fetched, for in his
two earliest editions, Beza gives a conjecture which radically
solves the problem: in his annotation on Acts 7:16, he simply
suggests that Mark's words ἐπὶ ᾿Αβιάθαρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως are a
gloss. Interestingly, this conjecture is confirmed by Codex Bezae,
as Beza finds out during the preparation of his third edition.[91] It is
no longer mentioned in the annotation on Acts 7:16, but an addi-
tion to the note on Mark 2:26 shows Beza's intentions:

> It is remarkable, that this whole part is not read in my very old
> manuscript, so that it could seem to have crept into the text from
> the margin where is was incorrectly annotated; [this must have
> happened] even long ago, for this place vexed many old [commen-
> tators], and even the Syriac reads it.[92]

Acts 7:16 itself provides another typical example of the same
category, but since the seriousness of this case becomes Beza's
starting point for a whole series of conjectures and for funda-
mental reflections on the necessity of conjectural emendation, it
will be discussed separately below (see p. 323).

Typical is also Beza's adoption of the reading αὐτῆς instead of
αὐτῶν in Luke 2:22 ("And when the time came for their [αὐτῶν]
purification according to the law of Moses ..."—RSV). He writes:

> Of Mary, αὐτῆς. In the Vulgate: 'eius' ('of him/her'), apparently 'of
> Mary'. For it is proper to fulfil the Law, although Mary after
> Christ's birth would be all the more sanctified. In any case, we have
> expressed the antecedent itself in full, in order to avoid any ambi-
> guity. Most manuscripts [codices] have αὐτῶν, and thus Origen

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[90] This explanation is adopted in Whittingham's New Testament of 1557
and subsequently in the 1560 Geneva Bible: "He was called achimelech, as his
father was, so that bothe the father and the sonne were called by bothe these
names, 1. Chron. 24,2. 2. Sam 8,17 and 15,29. 1. King. 2,26." This marginal
note is clearly related to Beza's 1556 annotation.

[91] The D omission (cf. NA[27]) is not recorded in the margin of Stephanus'
third edition.

[92] "... mirum est, totam hanc particulam in illo meo vetustissimo codice non
legi, ut ex albo ubi male fuerit hoc annotatum, videri possit in contextum irrep-
sisse, et quidem iam olim, quum multos ex veteribus hic locus torserit, et Syrus
etiam interpres haec legat."

reads also, followed by Erasmus.[93] But I fail to see how this could fit, while the law of purification only concerns the mother. And so I prefer to follow the old edition [the Vulgate] with which the Complutensian edition agrees.[94]

In 1582, Beza adds an explanation of the textual corruption as he sees it:

Indeed, most probably the true scripture has been corrupted by those who dreamt of diminishing Mary's holiness to some degree in this way.[95]

This annotation, and especially the 1582 addition, is exemplary of Beza's approach towards the text.[96] In this case, the Greek text was changed from αὐτῶν into αὐτῆς, and for the translation even 'Mariae' ('of Mary') was adopted. It is however not a conjecture, for, as Beza indicates expressly, he follows the choice (actually the conjecture) made by the Complutensian editors, which reflects the Vulgate.[97] Beza's choice of reading was to be influential, as it was followed by the Elzevir editions and by both the Geneva Bible and the KJV.[98]

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[93] Origen's remarks are found in *Hom. in Lc.* 14 (GCS 9, p. 85); they are cited by Erasmus, ASD VI–5, p. 482 ll. 991–995 and by Tischendorf (Ti⁸).

[94] "*Mariae*, αὐτῆς. Vulgata *eius*, Mariae videlicet. Oportuit enim impleri legem, quanvis Maria Christi partu potius esset sanctificata. Expressimus autem ipsum antecedens, ut vitaremus ambiguitatem. In plerisque codicibus legitur αὐτῶν, et ita etiam legit Origenes, quem sequitur Erasmus. Sed non video qui [1598: 'quinam'] [1565] hoc [1556] conveniat, quum lex purificationis ad solam matrem pertineat. Itaque veterem editionem sequi malui, cui Complutensis editio adstipulatur." From 1556 onwards (no italics in 1556 and 1565).

[95] "Verisimile est autem ab iis depravatam fuisse veram scripturam, qui sic aliquid detractum Mariae sanctitati somniarunt."

[96] Beza's adoption of αὐτῆς is mentioned by Scrivener as "the most conspicuous example" of the "few bold conjectures of Beza's own" (*Adversaria*, p. xcix), but this is an exaggeration as Beza simply follows the Complutensian Polyglot.

[97] Cf. Nestle: "... dies αὐτῆς wird eben spanisches Griechisch, Rückübersetzung aus der Vulgata sein, deren doppeldeutiges 'eius' auf αὐτοῦ ruht, wie an dieser Stelle unter andern D liest. Aus der Komplutensis ist dies αὐτῆς in sämtliche Ausgaben *Bezas* und der *Elzevire* übergegangen und durch die Ausgaben der englischen Bibelgesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert noch in 100 000en von Exemplaren verbreitet worden, während, wie gesagt, bis jetzt keine einzige griechische Handschrift gefunden wurde, die so hätte" (*Textus Receptus*, pp. 9–10; cf. p. 24). See also Nestle, 'Vulgata', pp. 189–190.

[98] Gagny (*In Euangelia Scholia*, 1559, pp. 181ᵛ–182ʳ) expresses the same preference for αὐτῆς, having noted αὐτοῦ and αὐτῶν in Greek manuscripts, as well as αὐτῆς in the Complutensian Polyglot. The Geneva Bible (1560) has a marginal note to the reading "her purification": "*Or, their.*" Beza's reading is

A well-known problem is posed by the New Testament genea-
logies of Jesus (Matt 1:1–17 and Luke 3:23–38).[99] Not only do
these lists not agree very well with each other, but there are also
discrepancies with genealogical 'information' derived from the
Old Testament. For Beza, these were real difficulties, but at first
he simply refers to the diverse suggestions made by other com-
mentators.[100] In two noteworthy instances, however, conjectural
emendation plays a role. The first is found at Luke 3:36. In his
translation, already in his first edition, Beza omits Cainan from
the list. He comments:

> Before this name [Arphaxad], τοῦ Καϊνάν is read, which I did not
> hesitate to strike out, following Moses' authority in Gen 11:12.[101]

In his first two editions, this is a conjecture, which clearly shows
how the Old Testament text can influence Beza's opinion. In
1565, τοῦ Καϊνάν is not omitted from the Greek text, but the
translation is unaltered. In 1582, interestingly, its omission is con-
firmed by Codex Bezae, the authority of which Beza adds to his
annotation in 1582. In 1598, Beza recasts the annotation, having
noticed that Luke's text actually agrees with the Septuagint in
Gen 11:12–13. As usual, he still prefers the Hebrew text, and
explains the reading τοῦ Καϊνάν in Luke 3:36 as a textual corrup-
tion under influence from the Septuagint.[102]

The readings in Codex Bezae lead to a second, somewhat
alarming conjecture, which concerns the discrepancies between
Matthew and Luke rather than those between either of these and
the Old Testament. Beza notices that his manuscript presents

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also adopted in the Dutch *Statenvertaling* and the Spanish *Reina–Valera*.

[99] See for instance François Bovon's discussion of Julius Africanus's 'künst-
liche Harmonisierung' (*Lukas* 1, pp. 188–189).

[100] In the annotation on Luke 3:23, Beza writes: "There are other arguments
through which Matthew and Luke can be brought together, which can be sought
from others" ("... sunt aliae etiam rationes quibus Matthaeus et Lucas in hac
genealogia concilientur, quae ex aliis peti possunt"—from 1556 onwards).

[101] "Ante hoc nomen, legitur τοῦ καϊνάν, quod non dubitavi expungere,
sequuti [sic] authoritatem Mosis Gen 11.b.12"—from 1556 to 1589.

[102] In response to this Bezan conjecture, Gregory Martin points out the un-
derlying paradox in such a text-critical approach: "... so to mainteine the He-
brue veritie (as they call it) in the old Testament he careth not what become of
the Greeke in the new Testament: which yet at other times, against the vulgar
Latin they call the Greeke veritie, and the pure fountaine, and that text whereby
al translations must be tried" (*Discouerie*, pp. a vi[r–v]).

Luke's genealogy in a remarkable way, by giving the names from
Matthew's list (as far as possible and with some variations) in
Luke's order.[103] The existence of such a text, in which every dis-
crepancy between the two genealogies is absent, induces him to
formulate a surprising depravation theory:

> ... that it can have happened that in the very time of the evangelists,
> the Jews corrupted this genealogy as they had it, as it were in order
> to take away the trustworthiness of the other stories about Christ.
> A deceit which was not noticed by most and which easily pre-
> vailed.[104]

There cannot be much discussion on the intrinsic value of Beza's
suggestion,[105] but the annotation is important for showing the

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[103] In 1582 Beza only refers to the D reading, but in 1589 he incorporates
the reading itself in his annotation, which shows that his private files, for in-
stance the margins of his private copy of the 1565 edition, contained more in-
formation than was actually mentioned in the 1582 edition. It is worthwhile to
reproduce Beza's version of the reading here, with its errors and irregularities in
breathings and iota subscript but allowing for different typographical conven-
tions (e.g. Ἀσὰ instead of Ἀσά): υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ Ἰακωβ, τοῦ Ματθάν, τοῦ
Ελεαζάρ, τοῦ Ελλίουδ, τοῦ Ιαχείμ, τοῦ Σαδώκ, τοῦ Ελιακείμ, τοῦ Ἀβιούδ, τοῦ
Ζωροβαβέλ, τοῦ Σαλαθιήλ, τοῦ Ἰεχονίου, τοῦ Ἰωακείμ, τοῦ Ελιακείμ, τοῦ Ἰω-
σία, τοῦ Ἀμώς, τοῦ Μανασσῆ, τοῦ Ἐζεκία, τοῦ Ἀχάς, τοῦ Ιωαθάμ, τοῦ Ὀζείας,
τοῦ Ἀμασίου, τοῦ Ιωάς, τοῦ Ὀχοζίου, τοῦ Ἰωράμ, τοῦ Ἰωσαφάτ, τοῦ Ἀσά, τοῦ
Ἀβία, τοῦ Ροβοάμ, τοῦ Σολομών. The accent on Ἰακωβ is missing (or invisible)
both in 1589 and 1598; the second instance of Ελιακείμ is written Ἐλιακείμ in
1598. The annotation does not exactly reflect the actual reading in the manu-
script. Ελλίουδ is an error for Ἐλίουδ or Ἐλιούδ; Ζωροβαβέλ is an error for Ζο-
ροβαβέλ. More importantly, Beza omits τοῦ Ἀζώρ (between τοῦ Σαδώκ and τοῦ
Ἐλιακείμ). The list can be compared with Matt 1:1–16; there the names are (in
Beza's 1589 edition) Σολομών–Ροβοάμ–Ἀβιά–Ἀσά–Ἰωσαφάτ–Ἰωράμ–Ὀζίας–
Ἰωάθαμ–Ἄχαζ–Ἐζεκίας–Μανασσῆς–Ἀμώς–Ἰωσίας–Ἰεχονίας–Σαλαθιήλ–Ζορο-
βάβελ–Ἀβιούδ–Ἐλιακείμ–Ἀζώρ–Σαδώκ–Ἀχείμ–Ἐλιούδ–Ἐλεάζαρ–Ματθάν–
Ἰακώβ–Ἰωσήφ. It can be shown that the text of Matthew as Beza knew it led to
some changes: Ματθάν instead of Μαθθάν; Ἰωάθαμ instead of Ἰωαθάν; Ἰωσαφάτ
instead of Ἰωσαφάδ; Ἀσά instead of Ἀσάφ; Ἀβιά instead of Ἀβιούδ. Especially
the last two instances go beyond the mere correction of a manuscript.

[104] "... fieri potuisse ut ipsis euangelistarum temporibus Iudaei genealogiam
ipsam, quantum in ipsis fuit, depravarint, quasi fidem caeteris de Christo narra-
tionibus abrogaturi. Quae fraus a plerisque non animadversa, facile obtinuerit"
(1589 and 1598).

[105] Richard Simon writes: "Il n'y a rien de plus ridicule que cette conjecture
de Beze, qui charge les Juifs d'un crime auquel ils n'ont jamais pensé: outre que
cela leur étoit inutile, parce qu'ils ne pouvoient pas corrompre tous les exem-
plaires que les Chrêtiens conservoient chez eux. On ne doit point rejetter cette
alteration des anciens exemplaires du Nouveau Testament sur d'autres que sur
les Chrêtiens, et même les Orthodoxes, ..." (*Texte du NT*, c. 375a).

kind of explanations Beza can come up with when presented with serious difficulties in the biblical text.[106]

A final example, which shows a subtle but revealing difference between Calvin's approach and Beza's, is found at 1 Cor 10:8, where the number given by Paul does not agree with the Old Testament source; Beza writes:

> In Moses we read twenty-four thousand, Num 25:9, perhaps because of an error in the manuscripts; in the matter itself they do not differ.[107]

Beza agrees with Calvin here, who also remarks that the discrepancy in the numbers is not essential.[108] There is however a subtle but significant difference between Calvin and Beza: whereas Calvin does not expect great precision in such numbers—he reads the number in Numbers as 'about 24,000' and Paul's number as 'more than 23,000'[109]—, Beza's first reaction is to surmise an error of transmission. The matter remains unimportant; Beza does not even specify which of the two texts he would suppose to be incorrect.

11.2.2 *The unity of the New Testament*

The New Testament can be at odds with the Old Testament, but also with itself. One of the Bezan conjectures mentioned in the Nestle editions is intended to remedy such a contradiction. At 2 Tim 4:20, Beza proposes to read ἐν Μελίτῃ instead of ἐν Μιλήτῳ in order to bring the information on Trophimus into agreement with the final chapters of Acts.[110] Since the way Trophimus was

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[106] Beza may have had instances such as these in mind when he revised the key annotations on Acts 7:14 and 7:16 in 1582 (see below, pp. 326–329).

[107] 1556: "... Apud Mosen legimus vigintiquatuor millia, Num. 25.c.9 exemplarium fortassis vitio, sed in re ipsa nihil variat" (in 1565 'variant' (as 'variāt'); in 1582: 'variant'; no further changes in later editions).

[108] Calvin, CO 49, c. 458: "in re nihil est discrepantiae" ("there is no discrepancy in the matter").

[109] CO 49, c. 458: "Quum ... circiter vigintiquatuor millia prostrata forent manu Domini, hoc est, supra vigintitria: numerum ulteriorem Moses, Paulus citeriorem posuit" ("As about 24,000 were striken down by the Lord's hand, that is, more than 23,000, Moses used the highest number and Paul the lowest").

[110] For details, see my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation', pp. 121–122.

left behind by Paul is not narrated in Acts, we witness Beza constructing a kind of 'super-story' in which elements from different New Testament books are woven together, as we have seen before at Matt 28:17 (see above, pp. 269–271). Part of his conjectures can only be understood within such a view of the text and of the relation between story and history. This can also be observed in Beza's far-reaching conjectures on 1 Cor 15:5–7, Paul's enumeration of the risen Christ's appearances. Three problems are detected by Beza, all three leading to conjectural emendation. First the number twelve (the reading δώδεκα) in verse 5, second the number five hundred in verse 6, and third the order of verses 6 and 7. Here, even more than elsewhere, Beza is combining information from various parts of the New Testament in order to construct a united whole without contradictions and inconcinnities.

The problem addressed first by Beza is the fact that an appearance to five hundred is not feasible:[111]

> But what if it was written ἐπάνω ν̄ ἀδελφοῖς, that is πεντήκοντα, fifty? For it is certainly remarkable that five hundred brothers are mentioned here, while after that, when the entire assembly is gathered in the same city of Jerusalem (where as it seems there has only been one kind of Church), only one hundred and twenty are enumerated (Acts 1:15). In view of such great consensus of the manuscripts and the old interpreters, however, I did not want to change anything out of conjecture.[112]

This conjecture occurs in the first edition already, and is maintained until the last one. Confusion of φ´ ($\overline{\Phi}$) and ν´ ($\overline{N}$) is transcriptionally not very likely, but Beza does not seem very concerned about transcriptional probability, or even about any text-critical explanation of the origin of the reading he regards as

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[111] In NA²⁷, the reference to 'Acts 2:1ss' at 1 Cor 15:6 entails the remarkable suggestion that the appearance to the five hundred and the Pentecost story are identical.

[112] "[1556] ... Quid si vero scriptum erat ἐπάνω ν̄ ἀδελφοῖς, id est πεντήκοντα, id est [1565: 'id est' omitted] quinquaginta? Nam certe mirum est quingentos hic fratres commemorari, quum postea coacto universo coetu in ipsa urbe Hierosolymorum (in qua una tum videtur fuisse species Ecclesiae) numerentur duntaxat centum et viginti, Act. 1.c. [1589] versu [1556] 15. Sed tamen in tanto codicum et veterum interpretum consensu, nihil volui mutare, ex coniectura." In 1598, the last words are changed into "it is my opinion that nothing should be changed out of conjecture" ("nihil censeo mutandum coniectura").

corrupt. But whether one reads 'fifty' or 'five hundred', another problem remains, especially when this appearance is connected with the ascension. Already in 1556, Beza notes:

> Chrysostom interprets ἐπάνω as ἄνωθεν, that is 'from heaven', or 'from high', as if these things refer to the ascension.[113] But if this interpretation were accepted, it would have to be said that the apostle either neglected the historical order or that the two-fold appearance mentioned in verse 7 took place after the ascension, as also the one of Paul. I will allow neither, unless someone comes up with convincing arguments.[114]

Nevertheless, Chrysostom's idea remains attractive to Beza, as a new annotation in his last edition shows. Beza writes on the word Κηφᾷ:

> This appearance [to Cephas], like the one to James, is not recorded by the evangelists; they themselves testify that all his appearances during those forty days had not been ordered by them one by one (John 20:30). Further, if what is said of the five hundred brothers just hereafter refers to the ascension, I would say that verses 6 and 7 have been transposed, and that 7 should be put before 6.[115]

Part of Beza's reasoning is his idea that the appearance to 'all the apostles' (verse 7) is to be identified with John 20:24–29. His exegetical options are drastically limited because of such identifications and the persistence with which he regards Paul's repeated use of εἶτα and ἔπειτα in 1 Cor 15:5–7 as reflecting a *historical* sequence of events.

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[113] Chrysostom, *Hom. 1. Cor.* 38 (PG 61, c. 326).

[114] "[1556] Chrysostomus ... ἐπάνω interpretatur ἄνωθεν, id est 'caelitus' sive 'e sublimi', quasi scilicet [1565: 'scilicet' omitted] ista sint ad ascensionem referenda. Verum si haec interpretatio admittatur, necesse fuerit dicere vel apostolum neglexisse historiae ordinem vel duplicem illam apparitionem cuius sit mentio versu 7 post ascensionem contigisse, ut et illam Pauli; quorum neutrum concessero, nisi quis idoneas rationes afferat [1565: 'adferat']." There are some additions in 1582.

[115] "Haec apparitio ab euangelistis non commemoratur, ut nec illa Iacobi, testantibus etiam ipsis omnes illius apparitiones totis illis 40. diebus exhibitas, non fuisse sigillatim a se praescriptas, Ioan. 20.30. Caeterum si quod mox de quingentis fratribus dicitur ad ascensionem referatur, transpositos fuisse dixerim vers. 6 et 7 quum hunc illis praeponi oportuerit." In 1598 only. The conjecture is mentioned in Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 345; 1812, p. 485: "If it relates to the time of the ascension, Matt. xxviii.16, then ver. 6, and 7, should change places."

Problems seldom come alone. In earlier editions, Beza had addressed only the difference between the Greek reading τοῖς δώδε- κα and the Vulgate reading 'undecim' ('(the) eleven'). Even though Judas can of course no longer be among the apostles, he found the former to be acceptable, stating that οἱ δώδεκα is used as a standing expression, not as invariably denoting the exact number. Later information, for instance the reading ϵΝΔϵΚΔ in Claromontanus,[116] does not make him alter his opinion. However, once the appearance τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν is identified with John 20:24–29, the reading τοῖς δώδεκα in verse 5 becomes problematic, and even more acutely so when verse 7 is read immediately after verse 5: why would Paul first mention an appearance 'to the twelve' and then one 'to all the apostles'? Beza considers this to be an awkward 'tautology',[117] and writes:

> What then? If there is some room for conjecture, in view of the variety of the manuscripts and the fact that faith and doctrine itself are not at stake, it would rather seem likely to me that neither τοῖς ἔνδεκα nor τοῖς δώδεκα, but τοῖς δέκα was written, that is, 'the ten of them', and that the appearance, outstanding among the others, is denoted which is narrated in John 20:19–24, when Thomas was not with his fellow-disciples. By using the particle πᾶσιν the apostles distinguished from this appearance both that other one that followed after eight days [John 20:24–29] and the final one which is set forth in Mark 16 [Mark 16:14–20]. But let these things be said without any prejudice.[118]

Beza's way of reading the New Testament leads him to identify Paul's indication with a specific story in John; this identification in turn leads to a conjecture.[119] He states that "faith and doctrine

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[116] Beza does not mention the later correction ΔШΔϵΚΔ in D (06) (see NA[27] and Tischendorf, *Claromontanus*, p. 559a).

[117] Beza uses the Greek term ταυτολογία.

[118] "Quid ergo? Si quis est in hac codicum varietate, et ubi de fide et doctrina ipsa non agitur, coniecturae locus, probabile mihi potius videtur neque τοῖς ἔνδεκα neque τοῖς δώδεκα sed τοῖς δέκα id est 'decem illis' scriptum fuisse, et insignem illam inter caeteras apparitionem designari quae narratur Ioh. 20.19 et 24 quum a collegis suis Thomas abesset. Qua apparitione tum illam alteram octo post diebus sequutam, tum illam ultimam quae Marc. 16 explicatur apostolus distinguat particula πᾶσιν. Sed haec nullius praeiudicio dicta sunto" (part of a new annotation in 1589). It may be debatable whether 'doctrina' should be translated as 'teaching' or 'doctrine' as it encompasses both.

[119] Beza's conjecture is mentioned by Reuss, *Bibliotheca*, p. 89; Reuss speaks of a "foolish conjecture" ("inanem coniecturam").

are not at stake", but it is at least remarkable that he proposes far-reaching conjectures when confronted with problems concerning central texts such as Jesus' post-resurrection appearances.

In Matt 8:30, a clear contradiction exists with the parallel texts Mark 5:11 and Luke 8:32: in Matthew's version of the story, the herd of swine is said to be "a good way off (μακράν) from them" (KJV), whereas the herd is placed 'there' (ἐκεῖ) in Mark's and Luke's. Beza proposes to remove the difficulty by reading οὐ μακράν instead of μακράν, that is, by adopting in Greek a reading found only in the Vulgate ('non longe').[120]

In John 19:14 a well-known problem occurs: the moment of the crucifixion indicated by John seems to contradict Mark 15:25 (see above, p. 157). Beza's treatment of the problem shows his harmonising interests, even though strictly speaking there is no conjectural emendation at stake. His first 'solution' is to assume that Mark speaks with less precision about periods of three hours; his expression 'the third hour' thus means the period of three hours after the third hour; John's precision would then allow one to understand that the exact moment is at the end of the fifth hour.[121] This solution is preferred by Beza in all his editions except his last, mostly because it is less 'violent' than a textual change. He knows the reading τρίτη from one manuscript,[122] and he also knows about Jerome's conjecture on the confusion of the Greek numerals for 'three' and 'six', and mentions it as a possibility. If a change is to be made, he would rather conform John's text to Mark's, for a simple but typical reason: the crucifixion has to be placed at an early hour in order to have sufficient time for all the elements that are narrated in the Gospels, such as the mockery by the bystanders. In conclusion, he leaves the matter to the personal judgement of his readers. In 1582 Beza finds that the reading τρίτη is confirmed by the attestation in 'Codex Bezae',[123]

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[120] See further my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation', pp. 117–118.

[121] This solution is indicated in the marginal note on 'the thirde houre' (Mark 15:25) in Whittingham's New Testament (1557), taken over in the Geneva Bible (1560): "The Iewes deuided their day into 4 partes, so that by the third houre is here ment ye thirde part of the day wc [which] was from six a clocke to nine, at what time Mat. [sic] saith he was crucified."

[122] τρίτη is not found in the margin of Stephanus' third edition. Possibly Henri's collations mentioned the L reading here (cf. Ti[8] or NA[27]).

[123] In his annotations Beza does not distinguish between the original manuscript and the pages that have been supplied later (D[supp]).

but this information is simply added to the annotation without a change of opinion. The latter is found in his last edition only, the reason being that he finds the first solution no longer convincing; there is no firm (biblical) basis for the division of the day in four parts of three hours, not even in Matthew's parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matt 20:1–16) in which the third, sixth and ninth hour occur, for the eleventh hour is mentioned as well (verse 9). And thus he is now convinced that the number 'six' is corrupt in John 19:14 for the reason indicated by Jerome.

In other instances, Beza's harmonising concerns cause him to adopt a creative translation,[124] or even actually lead to conjectural emendation. A striking example is found in Luke's narrative of the last supper (Luke 22:15–20), which differs considerably from Mark's (14:22–25) and Matthew's (26:26–29). The aspect that concerns Beza most is that Luke mentions two (different) cups. He reports Augustine's solution, according to which Luke actually mentions the same cup twice, without much concern for the exact order of events.[125] Beza's annotation shows that he regards the explicit words μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι as problematic in this view: the second cup is offered *after* the meal. This objection disappears in the other solution mentioned by Beza, in which the Passover meal (Luke 22:16–18) is distinguished from the institution of the sacrament (Luke 22:19–20).[126] Beza's objection to this view is typical, as he notes that in Matt 26:29 (and Mark 14:25), the words on the 'fruit of the vine' belong to the institution; to him it would be unacceptable to find the same words applied to the Passover (in Luke 22:18).

"What else?" ("Quid amplius?"), Beza asks. It now becomes clear why the issue is brought up in 1582 for the first time: there is new text-critical information to be evaluated. In the Syriac (the Peshitta), verses 17–18 are omitted, and in his own manuscript D verses 19ᵇ–20. Having noticed this, Beza comments:

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[124] At John 6:21, Beza translates ἤθελον οὖν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ("Then they wanted to take him into the boat"—NRSV) as "Cupide ergo receperunt eum in navigium" ("Therefore they took him eagerly into the boat"; 1565). His annotation shows his harmonistic concern: if John's text implies that Jesus did not go into the boat, it contradicts Matt 14:32 and Mark 6:51.

[125] Augustine, *Cons.* 3.1 (CSEL 43 p. 268 ll. 18–20 and p. 269 ll. 1–2).

[126] More recent adherents of this exegesis are Kenyon and S.C.E. Legg; see Metzger, TC², p. 150 n. 2 (TC¹, p. 176 n. 2).

I think that nothing should be changed. If there were some room for conjecture here, I would say that the verses that are now 19 and 20 have been transposed and should be connected to verse 16, and followed by those now numbered 17 and 18. For thus everything will agree beautifully, in itself and with Matthew and Mark. In Revelation we will observe two transpositions which may very well be similar.[127]

That is, Beza wants to have a text in which the bread is followed by a single cup. The result would be as follows:[128]

16 Λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ φάγω ἐξ αὐτοῦ,
    ἕως ὅτου πληρωθῇ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

19 Καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον, εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε·
    καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, λέγων,
    Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον·
    τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

20 Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων,
    Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου,
    τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον.

17 Καὶ δεξάμενος ποτήριον, εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε,
    Λάβετε τοῦτο, καὶ διαμερίσατε ἑαυτοῖς.

18 Λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπὸ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου,
    ἕως ὅτου ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.

It is relatively easy to dismiss Beza's conjecture. Since according to Metzger "an emendation that introduces fresh difficulties stands self-condemned",[129] it can be observed that in Beza's new text verse 20 and 17 do not fit together at all. Beza did not pursue his line of thought any further. Had he done so, he might have arrived at a text not dissimilar from the one found in the Old Syriac Sinaiticus.[130] But then the emendation would involve

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[127] "Ego nihil mutandum censeo. Quod siquis hic esset coniecturae locus dicerem transpositos fuisse versiculos et 16. versiculo annectendos qui nunc 19 et 20 habentur, quibus subiiciantur quos nunc 17 et 16 [sic] numeramus. Sic enim omnia prorsus inter se et cum Matthaeo et Marco pulchre consenserint; et in Apocalypsi duas fortasse non inepte similes transpositiones observabimus." For the two instances in Revelation see below, pp. 309–311. For some reason or another the last sentence with the reference to these two instances is dropped in 1598. Beza's conjecture is mentioned by Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.), Bowyer (*Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 126; 1812, p. 245) and Reuss (*Bibliotheca*, p. 88).

[128] The (numerous) small differences of Beza's Greek text with MCT are not essential to his conjecture.

[129] Metzger, *Text*, p. 185.

[130] See Metzger, TC², p. 149 (TC¹, p. 175). Beza could have combined the verses for instance in the following way: Ὡσαύτως καὶ μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, δεξάμενος τὸ ποτήριον, εὐχαριστήσας, εἶπε, Λάβετε τοῦτο, καὶ διαμερίσατε ἑαυτοῖς. Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν

far more than a transposition, and even in its Bezan form, a serious problem is already that it is hard to see how the text could have become corrupted.[131] Moreover, Luke's text is not inconsistent in itself, despite what Beza thinks.[132] It is its lack of agreement with Matthew and Mark that prompts him to his conjectural solution.

If Beza's conjecture on Luke 22 remains tucked away in the annotations, his way of dealing with John 18:13–24 is clearly visible in his translation. He regards Cyril's reading, of which he knows through Erasmus' annotation, as the only way "to reconcile John with the other evangelists",[133] especially on the point of the exact location of Peter's three denials. Thus verse 24 is put at verse 13 as well, in order to have Jesus sent to Caiaphas's house *before* Peter's denials. The result is an awkward repetition of the verse at two moments of the story, but happily for Beza he can give a name to the phenomenon, 'epanalepsis' (repetition), which allows for a different perspective: the text is not sloppy, but one in which rhetorical devices are used. Put differently, the detection of such a rhetorical phenomenon makes the commentator search for a possible meaning to the repetition.

Thus far Beza simply accepts Cyril's reading, but his way of adopting it is remarkable. In verse 24, the Greek text is ἀπέστειλεν οὖν, but this aorist is translated as a pluperfect.[134] This use of the pluperfect, unwarranted by the Greek,[135] is the result of the interpretation of verse 24 as *epanalepsis*.[136] In verse 13, the Latin

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ἐκχυνόμενον. According to another conjecture made by him, he could even have omitted το ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον; see above, p. 256.

[131] This objection is also noted by van der Beke Callenfels (*Beoordeeling*, p. 235).

[132] Commentators usually mention only the two cups, but the aspect of eating is doubled as well, giving Luke's narrative a nice balance of its own (verses 16 | 17–18 || 19 | 20).

[133] "Iohannem cum caeteris euangelistis conciliare"; for Erasmus' annotation, see above, p. 158.

[134] 'miserat igitur' ('miserat ergo' in 1556)—'thus he had sent ...' Note that in John's Gospel the meaning of οὖν can be quite weak, almost equivalent to δέ or καί (cf. 18:12.17.19.28.33.37.39.40). Besides the reading οὖν (and its omission) also δέ is known at 18:24.

[135] The same aorist ἀπέστειλεν is supposed for verse 13 and translated as 'misit' (perfect tense) there.

[136] In Stephanus' 1550 edition, the idea of *epanalepsis* is already suggested (cf. Erasmus and Luther, discussed above, pp. 158 and 176), by putting verse 24 between brackets; the variant reading οὖν is not found in Stephanus' margin.

translation contains the words "is vero misit eum vinctum ad Caiapham Pontificem maximum" ("but he sent him bound to Caiaphas the high priest"), but the Greek lacks the corresponding words.[137] At one decisive point Beza knowingly goes beyond what is written in Cyril's commentary: he changes the plural ἀπέστειλαν into the singular ἀπόστειλεν, thus making the agreement with verse 24 even greater.

11.3 THEOLOGICAL

We have noticed above how conjectural emendation can play a role when the authority of the Bible is at stake. Comparable are two interesting instances in which the apostolic authorship of New Testament books is protected by Beza.

The first of these concerns, not surprisingly, the epistle to the Hebrews. In 1556 and 1565 Beza discusses Heb 2:3, pointing out that the words ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουσάντων εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐβεβαιώθη ("it [the salvation] was confirmed to us by those who had heard") effectively make it impossible to see Paul as the author of the epistle, because Paul's own knowledge of the salvation depends on direct revelation from the risen Lord and not on the testimony of others.[138] Beza hastens to add that its unknown authorship does

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Whittingham's New Testament, 1557, followed by the Geneva Bible, 1560, contains a marginal note on 'Annas' in 18:13: "Who sent Christ unto Caiaphas the high Priest bounde." Verse 24 is put between brackets and translated as "Now Annas had sent him bounde unto Caiaphas the high Priest". The Geneva Bible goes even further than Whittingham's New Testament by putting verses 19–24, the interrogation of Jesus, between brackets, with a marginal note on 'sent' (verse 24): "After that Caiaphas had first sent him to him." In the KJV as well as in the Dutch *Statenvertaling* verse 24 is not introduced after verse 13, but the pluperfect in verse 24 clearly depends on Beza's interpretation.

[137] καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν δεδεμένον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα—indicated by Beza in his annotation; cf. verse 24.

[138] Cf. Beza's 1556 annotation on Heb 2:1 τοῖς ἀκουσθεῖσιν (translated as 'iis quae audivimus'): "Do you see how he makes a listener of himself? He says it even more clearly at verse 3. This epistle cannot conveniently be attributed to Paul, even though the reasoning is the same" ("[1556] Vides ut se facit auditorem? Nam id quoque planius etiam dicet ver. 3. Non potest igitur Paulo satis commode tribui haec epistola, etiamsi una haec esset ratio"; not changed in 1565).

not detract whatsoever from the value of the epistle,[139] and he further dismisses the suggestion that ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουσάντων could be interpreted as '*after* those who had heard [first]'. Because of these words, "it [the message of salvation] was attested to us by those who heard", the writer of Hebrews, who belongs to 'us', the group of those who receive the message indirectly, is excluded from those who heard the Lord themselves.

The Pauline authorship of Hebrews was a hotly debated issue in the sixteenth century.[140] In 1565, in the introduction to Hebrews (there is no such introduction in the 1556 edition), Beza mentions various possibilities, and notes that the style is markedly different from the other Pauline epistles. In any case, it suffices to know that the epistle is inspired by the Holy Spirit.[141] He will give his opinion in the annotations at the appropriate places (as he already did in the 1556 edition).

These places are not many; the one that merits discussion is found at Heb 2:3.[142] As Metzger notes, a similar position on the authorship of Hebrews was adopted in the Geneva Bible.[143] In-

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[139] Cf. Beza's annotation on Heb 10:24: despite the fact that the epistle's author is unknown, "we did not hesitate to call him an apostle everywhere, for he was provided with the truly apostolic spirit" ("Non dubitavimus tamen passim eum apostolum vocare, quod spiritu vere apostoloco praeditus fuerit"—from 1556 to 1582; the annotation is dropped in 1589).

[140] See Kenneth Hagen, *Hebrews*. Erasmus doubts whether Hebrews is Pauline, and discusses the question at length in his annotation on 'De Italia fratres' at Heb 13:24 (from 1516 onwards; noteworthy additions in 1519, 1527 and 1535). See further for instance his annotations 'Portansque omnia verbo virtutis suae' on Heb 1:3—from 1516 onwards; 'Minuisti eum paulominus ab angelis' on Heb 2:7—from 1516 onwards (ASD IX–3, p. 204 l. 40; 'Et adoravit fastigium virgae illius' on Heb 11:29—from 1519 onwards). In other annotations, however, he simply refers to the author as Paul and even rebuts the idea that Heb 6:6 (especially ἀνακαινίζειν) shows that the epistle cannot be from Paul (in the annotation 'Rursum renovari'—from 1516 onwards).

[141] Cf. what Beza says in the annotation on Heb 13:24 (1565).

[142] Besides Heb 2:3, only a few annotations can be noted, notably those on Heb 8:9; 10:34; 13:23–25. In these notes as well, Beza's earlier opinion on the authorship of Hebrews is edited out in 1589.

[143] Cf. Metzger, 'Geneva Version', p. 139: "The Geneva translators were ahead of their times in observing that the Epistle to the Hebrews is probably not by Paul, and in printing the title simply 'The Epistle to the Ebrewes' " (cf. Metzger, 'Geneva Bible', p. 346). Paul's name was not left out in Beza's editions; in 1556, the title is 'Epistola Pauli ad Hebraeos' / Παύλου Ἀποστόλου ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολή; the running title (header) is 'Epistola Ad Hebraeos' / Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἑβραίους; in 1565, the title is 'Epistola Pauli Apostoli ad Hebraeos' / Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολή; the running title (header)

fluence from the young Beza is probable. The annotation on Heb
2:3, however, shows interesting changes over the years. In 1589
he writes:

> 'By those who heard', ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουσάντων. That is, by the apos-
> tles. Thus, someone might say, these [words] cannot belong to Paul.
> But what if we do not read εἰς ἡμᾶς, but εἰς ὑμᾶς, 'to you'? We
> have corrected not a few of such errors in the old manuscripts.[144]

The young Beza, who daringly denies the Pauline authorship of
Hebrews and finds a nice proof-text for this in Heb 2:3, becomes
'someone' who asks a (difficult) question to the old Beza. One of
the factors contributing to this change must have been the accu-
sation of heresy, despite the fact that for Beza the non-Pauline
authorship does not diminish the epistle's authority.[145] Thus, in
1589, Beza plays with the idea that ἡμᾶς instead of ὑμᾶς may
solve the difficulty, but in the end he refrains from adopting it
because of its conjecturality.[146]

   The second instance is less important, but nevertheless reveal-
ing for Beza's prudence. In John 21:24, Beza finds trouble with
the reading οἴδαμεν. The words "we know that his testimony is
true" naturally suggest that they were written by someone other
than the evangelist. Beza comments:

> 'And we know', καὶ οἴδαμεν. I do not know how these words can
> be appropriate, when John speaks of himself. For if someone points
> out the exception that he speaks of himself in the plural, it is quite
> clear that instead of αὐτοῦ, 'his', ἡμέτερον, 'our' should have been
> said. Surely Chrysostom and Theophylact[147] seem to have read

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is 'EPISTOLA PAULI AD HEBRAEOS'; there are no significant changes in
1582.
   [144] "*Ab iis qui audierant*, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκουσάντων. Id est ab apostolis. Paulo
igitur, inquiet aliquis, ista non conveniunt. Quid si vero non εἰς ἡμᾶς sed εἰς
ὑμᾶς, 'vobis' legamus? Cuiusmodi errata non pauca ex veteribus codicibus emen-
davimus."
   [145] Cf. Martin, *Discouerie*, Preface: "... what an heretical peeuishnes is this,
because Beza telleth them [the translators of the English (Geneva) Bible] of one
obscure Greeke copie that hath not Paules name, and onely one: that they will
rather follow it, then al other copies both Greeke and Latin?" (p. a iiiᵛ).
   [146] The conjecture is mentioned in Bowyer's *Critical Conjectures* (1782, p.
428; 1812, p. 570). Somewhat against the aims of the collection, no reason is
indicated for the conjecture.
   [147] Both in Chrysostom's *Hom. Jo.* 88 (PG 59, cc. 480–481) and in Theophy-
lact's commentary (PG 124, c. 316), the lemma reads οἴδαμεν, but οἶδα occurs
in the commentary.

οἶδα, 'I know', in the singular. But even that does not satisfy me, for as he speaks of himself according to the Hebrew manner in the third person, as they say, it is quite clear that rather καὶ οἶδεν ὅτι should have been said, 'and he knows that his testimony is true', as above, 19:35. But these things can be excused as based on an idiom of the Hebrews, among which hardly anything occurs more frequently than these changes of persons.[148]

The entire text of the Gospel has to be John's; Beza does not allow the thought that verses 24 and 25 or parts of them can be additions made by others.[149] The reference to 19:35 shows that Beza considers the 'eyewitness' mentioned there to be the author of the Gospel.

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[148] "Et scimus, καὶ οἴδαμεν. Ista nescio quo modo non videntur convenire, quum Iohannes ipse de se loquatur. Nam si quis excipiat, ipsum de se loqui plurali numero, videtur omnino pro αὐτοῦ, 'ipsius', dicendum fuisse ἡμέτερον, 'nostrum'. Certe Chrysostomus et Theophylactus videntur legisse οἶδα, 'novi', singulari numero. Verum ne hoc quidem mihi satisfacit. Nam quum de se ex Hebraeorum more loquatur in tertia (quod aiunt) persona, omnino videtur dicendum potius fuisse καὶ οἶδεν ὅτι, 'et novit verum esse suum testimonium', ut supra, 19.35 [1556–1589 '21.35' ex err.]. Sed haec possunt ex Hebraeorum idiotismo excusari, apud quos vix quicquam frequentius occurrit istis personarum mutationibus" (from 1556 onwards; no changes in later editions, except the correction in 1598).

[149] Beza's annotation on John 20:30–31 shows that these verses could be seen as problematic as well. He writes in 1582: "I would not want to tear these verse away from here and attach them to the end of the following chapter, on the basis of the audacity of that Spaniard (whose name however I now omit). If he were to be believed, the evangelist's narrative order would have been disturbed not only at this passage but also at quite a few others, but [this is based] neither on any sound argumentation or on the authority of the manuscripts or the commentators" ("... nec velim hos duos versiculos hinc divellere et extremo capiti sequenti adiungere, ex illius Hispani (cuius tamen nomini nunc parco) audacia, cui si credatur non tantum hoc loco sed etiam aliis non paucis permutanda fuerit narrationis euangelistae series, nulla sana neque ratione neque codicum aut interpretum auctoritate"—from 1582 onwards). It is unclear whose rashness Beza is referring to here. In the Pagninus Bible (Lyons, 1542) edited by the Spaniard Michael Servetus the ideas alluded to by Beza cannot be found in the short marginal annotations. Casiodoro de Reina's commentary on John (Frankfurt, Nikolaus Basse, 1573) was inaccessible to me, but de Reina is not a likely candidate. Interestingly, a similar idea is brought forward by Marie-Joseph Lagrange (*Jean*, p. 520), who wants to place 20:30–31 after 21:23, which in his view was given its traditional place when 21:24–25 was added to the Gospel.

11.4 THE TRANSPOSITION OR REARRANGEMENT OF VERSES

An interesting aspect is Beza's anticipation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century source criticism. At several places he observes an inconcinnity in verse order, or even entire paragraphs which seem out of place. As we have seen in the case of Luke 22:17–20, he can propose the rearrangement of some verses for the sake of harmonising.[150] He can however do the same for purely contextual reasons.

Two of these cases are already found in his first edition, both of which concern the text of Revelation. The first concerns Rev 16:15. When read in its context, this verse makes the impression of a strange parenthesis, by which the description of the mustering of the kings (verses 12–14.16) is interrupted. Beza writes in his first edition:

> 'See, I come', etc. ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι, etc. Here I frankly admit that I fail to see how this entire verse can square with this passage. Though in the prophets sometimes not entirely different things tend to occur, when at one moment evidently the prophet, at another God himself is speaking, nothing of this kind occurs in this book, unless in the added preface. Further, until now Christ himself has nowhere been introduced as speaking, though these words must refer to him, unless in that first vision that contains the seven letters. Finally, if you connect the next verse (verse 16) with the preceding (verse 14), you will see that the story is continuous, and that it is interrupted by the inclusion of this verse. But far be it for me to venture something here out of mere conjecture; I only say that I am quite sure that this verse should be transferred to chapter three, after verse eighteen. However, I have not yet been able to guess what may have happened for it to have crept into this passage, though we have observed yet another, similar transposition below at 18:14.[151]

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[150] For Luke 22:17–20, see above, pp. 302–304. At Luke 22:63–65, yet another harmonising rearrangement is proposed by Beza; he notices that in Matthew and Mark the insults are narrated after the verdict by the high priest (verdict: Matt 26:59–66; Mark 14:55–64; Luke 22:66–70; insults: Matt 26:67–68; Mark 14:65; Luke 22:63–65). He therefore suggests that verses 63–65 have been transposed and should be placed after verse 70 (in 1598 only).

[151] "[1556] *Ecce venio*, etc. ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι, etc. Hic ingenue fateor videre me non posse qui [1582: 'quinam satis'] conveniat totus hic versiculus huic loco. Etsi enim in Prophetis interdum soleant non prorsus dissimilia occurrere, modo scilicet [1565: 'videlicet'] Propheta, modo Deo ipso interloquente, tamen nihil eiusmodi in hoc libro occurrit, nisi addita praefatione. Deinde nusquam adhuc

Beza's conjecture that verse 15 originally belongs after 3:18 is prompted by the general parenetical context in chapter 3 and the reference to clothes and nakedness in verse 18. He seems to have been the first to comment on the rather obvious interruption; his suggestion to transfer the words (back) to the third chapter is followed by various commentators.[152] The main problem remains the one indicated by Beza: it is hard to imagine such a transposition occurring during normal copying even if one allows for rather rough circumstances. In recent research, therefore, the emphasis is shifted from textual criticism to source criticism, for instance in David Aune's suggestion that 16:15 is an interpolation introduced in "the second edition of Revelation".[153]

The 'similar transposition' referred to by Beza at Rev 16:15 concerns Rev 18:14, which in Rev 18:9–24 may seem out of tune with its direct context, the weeping by the merchants and the traders (verses 11–17). Beza writes:

> For the rest I think that the same thing has happened here as above (16:15), so that this verse has been transposed. For the following verse, i.e. verse 15, fits together entirely with the preceding verses, so that the story is completely interrupted. And only if you place

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introductus est loquens Christus ipse, ad quem tamen omnino ista referenda sunt: nisi in prima illa visione quae septem epistolas continet. Postremo, si versiculum proximum, id est 16, coniunxeris cum superiore nempe cum 14, videbis perpetuam esse narrationem, quae interiectione istius abrumpatur. Absit tamen ut ego quicquam hic audeam ex nuda coniectura; tantum dico, mihi omnino videri hunc versiculum inserendum capiti tertio post versiculum 18. Qui vero sit factum ut in hunc locum irrepserit, coniicere nondum potui. Sed et similem alteram transpositionem observavimus infra, 18.e.14." No further changes in later editions. The annotation on 3:18 refers to this one: "But I ask you, reader, to look at what I observe below at 16:15" ("Vide autem quaeso, lector, quod infra observavi, 16.15").

   [152] Clemens Könnecke suggests including 16:15 after 3:3ᵇ (μετανόησον; *Emendationen*, pp. 35–37); like Beza, he has to admit that the conjecture has a major flaw: "Wie freilich dieser Teil von 3, 3 nach Kap. 16, 15 versprengt ist, läßt sich nicht mehr sagen", but he adds: "dies ist aber kein Gegenbeweis gegen die gegebene Reconstruction" (*Emendationen*, p. 37). Könnecke does not mention Beza, but both Robert Henry Charles and Ernst Lohmeyer, who accept Könnecke's conjecture, do (Charles, *Revelation*, 1, p. 49; Lohmeyer, *Offenbarung*, p. 133). The problem in the text-critical explanation is one of the reasons for Campegius Vitringa's rejection of Beza's conjecture (Ἀνάκρισις, 1721, p. 732). Vitringa is able to accept the parenthetical exhortation in this context, as does Bernard Weiss (*Apokalypse*, p. 204).

   [153] Aune, *Revelation*, 2, p. 896. For Aune's view of the textual prehistory of Revelation, see his *Revelation*, 1, pp. cv–cxxvi.

this verse after verse 23 will you see how well they all fit together in this way: '[14] And the fruit of the desire of your soul, ... and you find them no more. [24] But in her was found the blood of the prophets and the saints ...' To me it was however a matter of scrupulousness not to change anything out of mere conjecture. At least it is sure that this book was treated very negligently by many who doubted its authority, no doubt because of a remarkable stratagem of Satan, in order to prevent the disclosure of its mysteries at the right time.[154]

Beza's conjecture has found many followers.[155] Often reference is made not to Beza but to Vitringa, but Vitringa depends on Beza here.[156]

In the third edition, three instances which involve the rearrangement of verses are added. The first also concerns Revelation, the text of which was regarded by Beza as more uncertain than other parts of the New Testament. He comments on Rev 22:12–17:

'And see', καὶ ἰδού. This verse [22:12] and also the following one [22:13] is not appropriate to the angel that has been sent, but only

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[154] "[1556] Caeterum idem hic accidisse puto [1589: 'fortassis accidit' instead of 'accidisse puto'] quod supra, 16.c.15, ut transpositus sit iste versiculus. Nam prorsus cohaeret versiculus proximus, id est 15, cum superioribus, adeo ut prorsus sit interrupta narratio. Quod si hunc versiculum subieceris versiculo 23, tum demum videbis quam bene omnia cohaerebunt, nempe hoc modo: *Et fructus desiderii animae tuae*, etc. *et amplius illa non invenies. Sed in ea sanguis Prophetarum et sanctorum inventus est*, etc. Mihi tamen religio fuit quicquam [1589: 'maxima fuerit semper religio vel apicem in his sacrosanctis libris' instead of 'religio fuit quicquam'] mutare ex nuda coniectura. Hoc quidem certum est, valde negligenter habitum hunc librum a plerisque, quod de eius authoritate dubitarent, astutia nimirum satanae singulari, ne haec mysteria suo tempore patefierent."

[155] Könnecke accepts the conjecture, and mentions (Campegius) Vitringa, (Bernard) Weiss, Wilhelm Bousset (against: Friedrich Düsterdieck) (*Emendationen*, pp. 37–38). Bousset actually notes the difficulty ("Der Zusammenhang wird in der That empfindlich durch diesen Vers [18:14] gestört"), and seems to accept the conjecture, which he ascribes to Vitringa (*Offenbarung*, p. 422). In earlier Nestle editions (until NA[25]), the conjecture was recorded in a slightly adapted form under Weiss's name: Weiss places verse 14 after ἔτι in verse 23 (see Weiss, *Apokalypse*, pp. 210.212). The conjecture is no longer mentioned in NA[26–27]. Charles refers to Vitringa, Paul Ewald, Gustav Volkmar, Weiss and James Moffatt, but prefers to place the verse after 21 (*Revelation*, 2, p. 105). Aune sees that verse 14 is 'problematic' but does not refer to conjectural solutions or even source-critical ones (*Revelation*, 3, p. 1003).

[156] On 18:24, Vitringa writes: "Nothing seems more true and certain than Beza's opinion ..." ("Nihil verius et certius videtur sententia Bezae, ..."; Ἀνακρισις, 1721, p. 794).

to Jesus—the one, as will be told in a moment, by whom he has been sent [22:16]—; therefore one can hardly, or not at all, say how these [words] fit together. For only in a very forced way can it be estimated that the angel speaks here adopting the personage of Christ who sent him, from which he just before expressly distinguishes himself, when he does not accept being worshipped [22:8–9]. Moreover, such a sudden change of personage would have been very difficult, especially in a matter of such importance, when nothing is included from which it could be understood. Something very similar however occurs in 1 Kings 21:21.[157] Finally, in verse 14, instead of ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, 'his commandments', certainly ἐντολάς μου, 'my commandments', would have to be said; this difficulty, when it was noted, provided the occasion for the variant reading I will discuss below. What then? I will say what seems [correct] to me, and so I will leave it to the Church or rather to the pious to judge what I discern. I suppose that this book, which was handled more negligently because it was not immediately regarded by all as an apostolic writing, has been corrupted by some Arian who by doing so wanted to prove that Christ is not God and should hence not be worshipped; and this [happened] when the Anomoeans had already appeared, after Arian's own time,[158] who in any case were not to pass over this place at all. Therefore I think that these two verses, 12 and 13, have been transposed; if you place them in the order that follows [below], everything will fit together, and not only that, but John will even have joined to this prophecy a twofold sign, one of Christ himself and the other reported in his own name. Therefore in my view they should be read thus: '12 [14] Blessed are those who fulfil his commandments,[159] so that theirs will be the right to the tree of life and that they may enter the city by the gates. 13 [15] But outside (will be) the dogs, and sorcerers, and fornicators, and murderers, and idolators, and everyone who loves and commits falsehood. 14 [16] 'I, Jesus, have sent my angel to testify these things unto you in the churches. I am the root[160] and the descendant of David, the bright morning star. 15 [13] I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning

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[157] In 1 Kings 21:20, Elijah speaks to Ahab; in verse 21, the 'I' suddenly changes into 'the Lord'.

[158] 'Anomoeans' are called thus because they consider the Son to be unlike (ἀν-όμοιος) the Father.

[159] Beza follows the 𝕸 and TR reading οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ (against MCT and vg οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν). As he indicates, he regards the latter as corruption. Metzger on the other hand regards οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ as a scribal emendation (TC², p. 690; TC¹, pp. 765–766). For the opposite view, see John MacDonald Ross, 'Further Unnoticed Points', pp. 220–221.

[160] Beza translates ἡ ῥίζα as 'stirps', against the Vulgate's 'radix'; both mean 'root'.

and the end, the first and the last.[161] 16 [12] And see, I am coming soon, and my reward is with me, to repay everyone according as his work will be.' 17 [17] And the spirit and the bride say: "Come." Etc.' But the judgement of this conjecture will have to belong to the pious and the learned.[162]

As can be seen, Beza proposes to read the verses in the order (...–11) 14–16 13 12 (17–...).[163] Both pious and learned will admire the remarkably smooth flow of the resulting text; the succession of personages is convincing,[164] and every verse both reacts to the preceding one and adds something new to it.[165] For

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[161] Here Beza depends on the TR order ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, against MCT ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ὁ τέλος.

[162] "*Et ecce*, καὶ ἰδού. Quum hic vers[iculus] ut et proxime sequens non angelo misso sed ipsi demum Iesu a quo missus mox dicitur conveniat, vix ac ne vix quidem dici potest quinam ista cohaereant. Nec enim nisi admodum violenter existimari possit hic angelus loqui in mittentis Christi persona, a qua paulo ante sese tam expresse discreverit, non sustinens adorari. Praeterea durissima fuerit ista tam subita personae mutatio in re praesertim tanti momenti, quum nihil interiiciatur unde id possit intelligi. Simillimum autem quiddam occurrit 1. Reg. 21,21. Denique in ver. 14, pro ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, *mandata ipsius*, certe dicendum fuisset ἐντολάς μου, 'mandata mea', quae difficultas animadversa praebuit diversae scripturae occasionem, de qua mox dicam. Quid ergo? Dicam quid mihi videatur, ita ut quod sentio relinquam Ecclesiae atque adeo piis omnibus diiudicandum. Existimo hunc librum eo negligentius habitum quod non statim ab omnibus pro apostolico scripto censeretur, fuisse ab Ariano quopiam depravatam, qui Christum Deum non esse nec proinde adorandum sic confirmare vellet, idque exortis iam Anomaeis post ipsius Arii tempora, alioqui hunc locum minime praetermissuris. Transpositos igitur fuisse arbitror hos duos versiculos nempe 12 et 13, quos si ea quae sequitur serie disponas, non modo cohaerebunt omnia, sed etiam duplex veluti sigillum, unum ipsius Christi, alterum suo nomine perscriptum, Iohannes huic prophetiae apposuerit. Sic igitur illos legendos opinor, / 12 *Beati qui praestant eius praecepta, ut sit eis ius in arborem vitae, et per portas ingrediantur in civitatem.* / 13 *Foris autem [erunt] canes, et venefici, et scortatores, et homicidiae, et idolatrae, et quisquis amat et committit mendacium.* / 14 *Ego Iesus misi Angelum meum ut haec vobis testificarentur in Ecclesiis. Ego sum stirps et progenies illa Davidis: stella illa splendida et matutina.* / 15 *Ego sum* A *et* Ω, *principium et finis, primus et ultimus.* / 16 *Et ecce, venio cito, et merces mea mecum est, ut reddam unicuique prout ipsius opus erit.* / 17 *Et spiritus et sponsa dicunt, Veni*, etc. / Sed de hac coniectura penes pios et eruditos iudicium esto." The reference to 1 Kings 21:21 ('Simillimum ...') is added in 1589. In 1582, 'praetermissuri' is written (corrected in 1589); 'duos' is omitted in 1589.

[163] The suggestion is noted by Reuss, *Bibliotheca*, p. 88.

[164] Bernard Weiss (*Apokalypse*, pp. 223–224) however ascribes 22:10–16 to Christ. He adopts the reading οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν in verse 14 (*Apokalypse*, p. 10).

[165] [*The Angel*:] [11] The evil-doer goes on and the good man perseveres; [14] Blessed those who fulfil his commandments and [15] outside those who commit falsehood. [*Jesus*:] [16] I have sent my angel to testify these things; I am the morning star. [13] I am the beginning and the end. [12] I am coming soon.

the latter, the inversion of verses 12–13 besides their transposition is also important. As Erasmus was able to do, Beza uses his literary talents to give us the text as it should have been written. The transmitted text, however, is problematic to him to such a degree that he presents his rewritten version as the original text.

At Rev 16:15, Beza admits that he is not able to indicate how the text could have come into disorder; at Rev 18:14, he points out the negligence with which Revelation was transmitted. Here at Rev 22:12–16 he is more precise: in general the disputed status of Revelation had a distorting impact on its transmission and at this point in particular he detects heterodox corruption. Behind the apparent confusion between Christ and the angel in verses 12–15 Beza detects an Arian interest to apply the words τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον (verse 9) to Christ and not to the angel.[166]

Though Beza's theory on the status and the transmission of the text of Revelation makes it easier for him to venture conjectural solutions, his contributions are by no means limited to that book only. An example is his way of handling the problem of the doxology in Romans (Rom 16:25–27). In 1556, Beza notes that printed editions have the doxology at the end of chapter 16 but "possibly against the consensus of all manuscripts", for it is found after 14:23 "in all our old [Greek] manuscripts and also in the Greek scholia".[167] He concludes:

[*The Spirit and the bride*:] [17] Come.

[166] It is doubtful whether this text (Rev 22:9) was ever appealed to in christological debate. If this impression is correct, it shows an remarkable aspect of Beza's dogmatic sensibility in text-critical matters. He is able to surmise heterodox interests as a motive for textual corruption. This reversal of perspective compared to Erasmus is most obvious in the annotation on 1 Tim 3:16. Whereas Erasmus suggests that the reading θεός (instead of ὅς) "has been added against the Arian heretics" ("additum fuisse adversus haereticos Arianos"; annotation 'Quod manifestum est in carne' on 1 Tim 3:16; from 1516 onwards), for Beza the reading θεός "has been vilely corrupted by the Devil" ("foede fuisse a diabolo depravatum"). Explicitly reacting to Erasmus, he states that the reference to 'God's incarnation' "has been removed by those who negated either Christ's divinity or the union of both natures from the very moment of the conception onwards already" ("sublatum fuisse ab iis qui vel divinitatem Christi vel utriusque naturae unionem iam inde ab ipso conceptionis momento negabant"—from 1556 onwards; 'divinitatem' changed into 'deitatem' in 1598).

[167] "fortassis praeter omnium codicum consensum" ... "in omnibus nostris vetustis codicibus et Graecis etiam scholiis"—it concerns the annotation on Rom 14:23. For the Greek scholia, see Donatus, pp. 365–367.

> There are even other reasons that show that these [verses] should
> be mixed in here [at 14:23] rather than to be relegated to the end
> of the epistle. But we did not want to change anything of the
> received reading.[168]

Thus Beza does not move the doxology from where Erasmus put
it and Stephanus left it, and his annotation shows how the notion
of a 'received reading' can function for Beza, in his first edition
already.[169] He could have read in Erasmus' annotations that at
least in his editions the doxology was placed at the end of the
letter mainly because of a pro-Vulgate editorial decision.[170]

In 1582, Beza maintains the received text and nuances the in-
formation on the manuscripts, no doubt after consultation of his
Codex Claromontanus (D), where the doxology is found after
16:23, though he does not mention it. On the possibility of read-
ing the doxology after 14:23 he adds:

> ... I do not agree with this [reading], because the apostle has not yet
> finished his treatise. Thus, if they seem not to fit at the end of the
> epistle, it would be better to attach them not here, but at verse 13
> of the following chapter. This variety perhaps comes from Mar-
> cion, who wanted to strike the rest till the end of the epistle and
> have it end here, as Jerome attests.[171]

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[168] "Non desunt etiam aliae rationes quibus probetur haec potius hoc loco
misceri debere quam ad calcem epistolae reiici. Noluimus tamen in recepta
lectione quicquam immutare." From 1556 onwards; in 1565, 'etiam' is changed
to 'tamen', and 'misceri' to 'legi'.

[169] Cf. Beza's annotation on Mark 6:20 ἐποίει (𝔐); from Stephanus' colla-
tions he knows the variant reading ἠπόρει (actually from L), and he is able to
give a nice explication of Herod's hesitations when listening to John; "the first
reading however," Beza observes, "is more received" and he thus retains ἐποίει
("prior tamen lectio magis est recepta"—from 1556 onwards).

[170] See Erasmus' annotation 'Ei autem qui potens' on Rom 16:25 (from 1516
onwards). In the Complutensian Polyglot, the doxology is also placed at the end
of the epistle, without any comment. The same choice is made in MCT; despite
all that has been written (see especially Kurt Aland, 'Schluß' and Harry Gamble,
Textual History), the doxology is ultimately simply retained *at its traditional
place*, motivated by the idea that such a doxology would *normally* be found at
the end of an epistle such as Romans (cf. Metzger, TC², pp. 472–473.476–477;
TC¹, pp. 536.540).

[171] "... quod tamen non probo, quoniam hanc tractationem nondum termina-
vit apostolus; ut si extremae epistolae videantur non convenire, non tamen huic
loco, sed sequentis capitis versic. 13. attexi potius oportuerit. Sed haec fortasse
varietas fraude Marcionis evenit, qui caeteris quae ad finem usque epistolae
sequuntur expunctis voluerit epistolam hic finiri, ut Hieronymus testatur." Not
changed in later editions. It would seem that Beza confuses Jerome and Origen

He now gives a conjecture that has not been confirmed by any manuscript though there may seem to be some logic to it.[172]

If Beza can give a general reason for disruptions in the closing chapters of Romans—it would seem to be the first time that Marcion's influence is invoked in matters text-critical—no causes of corruption are indicated in his annotation on 1 Cor 7:17–24:

> ... outside the treatment offered here to which he returns later on in verse 25, the apostle discusses, as if making an excursion, circumcision and slavery, as matters that are indifferent as well and in which God's kingdom is not placed; or rather—which is said only out of mere conjecture—it happened through an error of the copyists that these verses 17–24 were transposed, for they should rather be placed after verse 40, where the treatment of marriage ends. For thus everything will fit together best, and these matters also agree by all means with those on the sacrifices to pagan gods, which he discusses later on [8:1–12].[173]

Beza is concerned about the coherence of the text. Somewhat similar to the case of Rev 16:15 discussed above, the reasons that prompt Beza to surmise a transposition can become textual signals that make others suppose an interpolation.[174]

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here, for only the latter mentions Marcion with regard to the final verses of Romans (Origen, *Comm. Rom.*, 10.43; PG 14, c. 1290 A–B; cf. NA[27]). As the information given by Erasmus is correct (annotation on Rom 16:25, from 1519 onwards), it really seems a Bezan slip of the pen (or mind). Beza did not regard Origen very highly. Marcion's editorial activity is still appealed to today when critics try to explain the confused state of the final chapters of Romans (cf. Metzger, TC[2], p. 472; TC[1], p. 536).

[172] It is remarkable that Wettstein (*NTG* at Rom 14:23) cites from both versions of Beza's annotation, but does not mention his conjecture. It is mentioned by Owen in Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, p. 318; 1812, p. 457.

[173] "... Caeterum vel apostolus extra propositam tractationem ad quam postea redit vers. 25, velut excurrens, de circuncisione et servitute, ut rebus etiam mediis et in quibus non esset positum regnum Dei, disserit, vel potius (quod ex nuda tantum coniectura dictum sit) librariorum culpa factum est ut isti versiculi 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, transpositi sint, qui potius versiculo 40, tractationem de coniugio finienti subiici debuerint. Sic enim omnia optime cohaerebunt, quum haec quoque prorsus consentiant cum iis quae de idolothytis postea disserit" (from 1582 onwards).

[174] Jan Willem Straatman regards verses 17–22 as an interpolation ('Bijdragen II'). For him, the 'inexplicable conjunction' ('onverklaarbare conjunctie'; p. 26) εἰ μή is a starting-point for the demonstration of a second-century interpolation, in many respects similar to the one he assumes in 1 Cor 14:33[b]–35 (*Kritische studiën* 1, pp. 134–138). Baljon, following Straatman, remarks that the transition between verse 16 and verse 17 is a μετάβασις εἰς ἀλλὸ γένος (Baljon, *Tekst*, p. 57). Schmiedel disagrees (*Thessalonicher und Korinther*, p. 103).

BEZA AND CONJECTURAL EMENDATION: CONCLUSIONS

La critique biblique de Bèze passe pour timide; par rapport à Erasme, il fait figure de défenseur de l'orthodoxie. Et cette timidité ne fera que croître avec l'âge[1]

In the final chapter of this part, we will draw some conclusions from the many conjectures discussed above. What was Beza's view of the biblical text, what were his opinions on conjectural emendation, and how do these opinions as well as his many conjectures compare with those of Erasmus?

12.1 BEZA'S VIEW OF THE TEXT

In Beza's view of the text, the Holy Spirit speaks through the biblical authors. He even regards the same Spirit's speaking through the mouth of the prophets and the evangelist as a guarantee of the agreement between both.[2]

In one notable instance this view of the text influences Beza's text-critical proclivities. At Matt 2:17 he adopts the poorly attested reading τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κυρίου διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου, λέγοντος in his translation and his annotation, though he

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[1] *Correspondance* 2, p. 230 n. 9. The editors, Fernand Aubert, Henri Meylan and Alain Dufour, give the example of Beza's note on 1 Tim 3:16. In this note Beza emphatically defends the reading θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί against Erasmus' idea that θεός was introduced in order to check the Arian heresy (see Erasmus' annotation 'Quod manifestatum est in carne'; from 1516 onwards). They also mention Beza's treatment of Luke 2:33 as example of a changed attitude: in 1556, Joseph is still Jesus' father, but not in the 1565 Greek text. They refer to Berger, *La Bible au seizième siècle*, p. 133f (pp. 133–135).

[2] See his annotation on Matt 27:9. Because of the Spirit standing behind the biblical accounts, literal agreement between parallel passages is not required, as long as the meaning is not contradictory. For similar reasons, semitisms and the like cannot pose a problem. Beza writes a long excursus at Acts 10:46 (from 1556 onwards), notably against Erasmus' ideas on the character of the apostles' language as expressed in the long 1519 addition to the annotation 'Quomodo unxit eum' on Acts 10:38 (ASD VI–6, pp. 250–252.254 ll. 671–745.747–751).

acknowledges that τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου, λέγον-
τος is the normal text in printed editions and manuscripts alike.
From his annotation it is clear that he is seduced by the idea that
actually the Lord himself speaks when the Prophet opens his
mouth.[3]

   If the Spirit speaks in and through the Bible, the translator and
critic works within the Church. Beza clearly places all his text-
critical and translational work in an ecclesiastical setting. When
he proposes the conjecture ἀχράδες ('wild pears') for ἀκρίδες
('locusts') in Matt 3:4, he invokes "the kind permission of the
Church".[4] At such moments, one sees that Beza's editions have a
very precise *Sitz im Leben*: the Church. He wants to instruct its
clergy and in doing so defines himself as a servant of the Church,
even to the degree of being subservient to it. Similarly, Beza regu-
larly refers to 'the pious and the learned', which in the context of
his works can be taken as a hendiadys, denoting those who are
both learned and pious. For Beza, the learned ('eruditi') are not
only those who are traditionally known as such, but also those
who combine a minimum of knowledge of Greek and Latin with
'the understanding of piety' ('pietatis cognitio').[5] Beza apparently
regards being learned as a condition for having access to the trea-
sures of Scripture, at least at the level at which these are revealed
in his editions; but being pious is even more necessary, as a fence
against uncontrolled and destructive learning. At this point it is
hard not to make a reference to the two important components of
Beza's own identity and biography, Humanism and Reformation.
He will not, and cannot, deny his humanist upbringing, but once
he is won for the cause of the Reformation, his scholarly qualities
are exercised within the Church. In the end, they are also restrict-
ed or even somewhat distorted by this setting.

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   [3] Cf. Beza's comments on Matt 1:23, discussed above, p. 289. At Matt 2:17
the idea is even subtly enhanced by a change in the translation: at first, in 1556
it is "quod dictum est a Domino per Hieremiam prophetam" ("what is said by
the Lord through the prophet Jeremiah"); in 1565 it becomes "quod ait Domi-
nus per Hieremiam Prophetam" ("what the Lord said ...").
   [4] "cum bona Ecclesiae venia"; in 1556 only; the conjecture is already with-
drawn in the errata of the same edition.
   [5] In the preface to the first edition, *Correspondance* 2, p. 225 (*NT* 1556, p.
Aa.iʳ). The term 'pietatis cognitio' is changed into 'pietatis studium' ('the pursuit
of piety') in the 1565 edition (see *Correspondance* 5, p. 169).

12.2 EXPLICIT STATEMENTS OF RELUCTANCE

One of the marked differences between Erasmus and Beza is the latter's repeated and strongly professed reluctance towards conjectural emendation. This reluctance is expressed at various moments, which we will briefly review.

The only instance outside Beza's New Testament editions is found in his polemical writing against Castellio. In the discussion of a reading at 2 Pet 2:14 Beza censures the edition of Simon de Colines (Paris, 1534) as based on conjecture in its many alterations from both the Erasmian editions and the Complutensian Polyglot. Beza writes:

> Moreover, Castellio cites Colines's copy [edition], which I do not value highly, unless it is sustained by the agreement of other books [manuscripts], for I have found that in this copy many things have been corrected on the basis of mere conjectures by someone who is in any case very learned in the Greek language.[6]

The very instance that prompts Beza to this aside is judged incorrectly by him: in 2 Pet 2:14, the reading ἀκαταπαύστου (instead of ἀκαταπαύστους), which he dismisses, is not only possible but also reasonably well attested.[7] It even seems that Beza's opinion on the edition is generally unfounded,[8] but the fact remains that

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[6] Beza, *Responsio*, p. 222 ("Citat praeterea Castellio Colinaei exemplar, quod non magni facio, nisi aliorum codicum consensu adiuvetur, quoniam rescivi multa fuisse in eo a quodam, alioqui Graecae linguae doctissimo, ex solis coniecturis emendata"). This passage is cited by Wettstein (*NTG* 1, p. 141) in a slightly different form ("Citas Colinaei exemplar ...") and without exact reference. Wettstein probably cites the second edition of Beza's *Opera* (Geneva, Vignon, 1582).

[7] See NA[27] and ECM. Colines's edition deserves to be the subject of a monograph.

[8] Wettstein recalls somewhat wryly Mill's opinion that Colines "never or very rarely" had recourse to conjecture, "in any case not more often than either Erasmus before or Beza himself afterwards" ("... praefero sententiam J. Milli affirmantis, id [conjectural emendation] a Colinaeo aut nunquam aut rarissime (certe non saepius, quam vel antea ab Erasmo vel postea ab ipso Beza) factum fuisse"—*NTG* 1, p. 141). Wettstein is followed by Gregory in Ti[8], *Prolegomena*, vol. 1, p. 211: "The bright work, ahead of its time, was censured by Beza as having been corrected on the basis of conjectures" ("Opus praeclarum atque praematurum vituperatum est a Beza ut ex coniecturis emendatum ..."). In the introduction to Calvin's commentary on Romans, the editors T.H.L. Parker and David Parker indicate the reading ὑπὸ νόμον (instead of ἐν τῷ νόμῳ) in Rom 3:19 as a conjectural emendation in Colines's edition (*Comm. Rom.*, OE 13, p. XLIV). Interestingly, the reading is indicated in Stephanus' third edition (1550)

Beza mistrusts it because he believes it to be based on conjectures in many of its readings; in any event, he expresses his disapproval of it by vouching for such a belief.

More important are his statements in the preface to the 1556 edition. Beza writes on the book with the collations given to him by Stephanus:

> This, above all, supported me greatly and in very many instances, for sometimes I saw confirmed by the authority of a manuscript what otherwise used to rest only upon the conjecture of the interpreters. Other times we were given an opportunity to know the truth from the traces of an old reading, in which, however, we maintained this restriction in accordance with the warning not to change a tittle on the basis of reason or pure conjecture.[9]

These remarks are important in three respects: (1) Beza was familiar with the phenomenon of 'confirmed' conjectures or re-translated readings; (2) he can regard variant readings as 'stepping stones' towards the correct text;[10] and (3) he expressly refrains from conjectural emendation.

In fact Beza was reluctant to change the text be it on the basis of manuscripts or conjecture. Despite the changes in the Greek text analysed above (see above, pp. 218–226), the 'many ways' in

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as found in min. 10ᵖ (a manuscript that is now missing). If Stephanus' information is correct here, it may be a possible source for Colines's reading. At Rom 3:19 Wettstein (*NTG* a.h.l.) simply transmits the information from Stephanus' margin. Wettstein also comments in general terms on the use of min. 10ᵖ made by Colines (*NTG* 1, p. 141).

[9] "... quae res una prae caeteris magnopere me in plerisque sublevavit, quum interdum viderem, quae alioqui sola interpretum coniectura nitebantur alicuius codicis authoritate confirmata, interdum autem ex veteris lectionis vestigiis aditus ad cognoscendam veritatem nobis patefieret; in quo tamen hunc modum tenuimus, ut admonitione contenti, ex ingenio aut simplici coniectura ne apicem quidem mutaremus"—1556: p. Aa.iiᵛ and *Correspondance* 2, p. 229. These words are repeated in all editions except the last one (1565: p. *.iiiiʳ and *Correspondance* 5, p. 170; 1582: pp. iiiiʳ⁻ᵛ; 1589: pp. iiiiʳ⁻ᵛ). The word 'tittle' ('apex') is an allusion to Matt 5:18 (vg).

[10] This is how I interpret the words "the opportunity to know the truth from the traces of an old reading". However Beza's words are somewhat puzzling and a different interpretation is possible as well, according to which he refers to the way variant readings can help the commentator in finding the correct exegesis of a text—one of the stock arguments used in the various efforts to convince undergraduates today of the importance of doing textual criticism. It is indeed a striking feature of Beza's annotations for modern readers that he mentions a great many variant readings, even with the additional service of translating them into Latin, without pronouncing himself on their text-critical value.

which Beza 'was supported' by Stephanus' collations are mainly related to his annotations. We have seen that Beza is one of the first critics for whom the concept of a received text, *textus receptus*, functions fully.[11] This concept leads to a separation between the printed Greek text and the critic's opinion; manuscript readings and conjectures are not adopted, even if the critic is convinced of their correctness.[12]

At first sight, Beza's attitude as expressed in his preface is confirmed by many of his annotations. The phrase, 'I do not want to change anything out of conjecture', can be found numerous times. However the function of these repeated statements must be determined with more precision. It seems that more is at stake than a simple practical decision, or insight into the uncertain and unwarranted nature of conjectural emendation. There are criticisms to be prevented, and there is uncertainty to be silenced. What is that uncertainty? Doubts about the correctness of the biblical text. It is after his many conjectural digressions that Beza uses this reassuring, almost imploring closing formula. Not only does he propose conjectures *despite* his firm reluctance towards conjectural emendation; he also has to assert his scruples *because* of the many conjectures he proposes. But why then are the conjectures still mentioned at all? Here the words 'intellectual honesty' first come to mind: some problems, as Beza perceived them, simply did not go away. But there is more, as we will see.

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[11] See for instance his discussion of the doxology in Romans (see above, p. 315) or of Matt 12:20–21 (see above, p. 291). Important is also his discussion of Matt 1:23 (see above, p. 290). Most striking finally is his 1582 statement at 2 Cor 8:3 in which he qualifies 'any bias against the received reading' as 'profane audacity' (see above, p. 259).

[12] Again the comparison with Erasmus' work and opinions is illuminating: Erasmus initially did not question the quality of the (Byzantine) Greek text in a general way; in later years, he distanced himself from his initial position, presenting the Greek text and the Vulgate as entities which both demand to be dealt with critically. Thus, in the course of the sixteenth century, a Greek text became 'received' contrary to the intentions of its editor.

12.3 Developments 1556–1598

The question can now be answered whether there are developments to be noted between Beza's first edition and his fifth. At first sight, there are clear indications that he became even more reluctant towards conjectural emendation than he was in his 1556 preface cited above. Indeed, several conjectures were withdrawn or simply no longer mentioned.[13] Moreover, some of the explicit remarks on conjectural emendation have become sharper in the last two editions. For instance in his annotation on Rev 18:14, Beza writes in earlier editions:

> To me it was however a matter of scrupulousness not to change anything out of mere conjecture.[14]

In 1589, this key sentence is edited to read:

> To me it has however always been a matter of utmost scrupulousness not to change even a tittle in these holy books out of mere conjecture.[15]

Remarkable are also Beza's words in his last edition, at the end of his discussion of a conjecture on Heb 12:6:

> But may the crime be far from me to change even so small a thing in these sacred records against all manuscripts and interpreters.[16]

Even expressions which leave the readers their freedom of judgement after Beza's discussion are often omitted in later editions.

Despite these developments, however, the core of Beza's attitude with regard to conjectural emendation is remarkably stable,

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[13] The conjecture on Matt 3:4 (ἀχράδες) is withdrawn already in the 1556 errata (see above, p. 252). The conjecture on Mark 12:42 (*om* ὅ ἐστιν κορδάντης) is no longer mentioned when the annotation on Acts 7:16 is edited for the 1582 edition. The omission of Luke 2:2 is no longer proposed in 1589 (see below, p. 331 n. 92). Conjectures on Acts 6:9 (Λιβυστίνων) and Acts 8:26 (*om* αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος) are withdrawn in the second edition (see my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation', pp. 122–123 and 120–121).

[14] "Mihi tamen religio fuit quicquam mutare ex nuda coniectura."

[15] "Mihi tamen maxima fuerit semper religio vel apicem in his sacrosanctis libris mutare ex nuda coniectura." To this change corresponds another, smaller one, in the same annotation: the words 'I think that' ('puto') become 'perhaps' ('fortassis'). For the discussion of Beza's conjecture, see above, p. 310.

[16] "Absit tamen a me hoc scelus ut contra omnium codicum et interpretum fidem vel tantillum in his sacris tabulis immutem" (in 1598 only). It is not necessary to assume that Beza is reacting to specific criticism here.

or even static. Unchanged are his opinion on conjectural emendation and his general practice not to change the Greek text but to be a bit more lenient with regard to his Latin translation. His reluctance did not prevent him from proposing fresh conjectures in every new edition. Especially this phenomenon demands explanation. It can be shown that the real development in Beza's conjectural criticism lies deeper. The key for understanding the change in his opinions can be found in his annotations on Acts 7:14 and 7:16, in which the textual difficulties lead to programmatic statements on conjectural emendation. We deal with these two annotations in the following sections.

12.4 CONJECTURAL EMENDATION IN THE FIRST TWO EDITIONS

Only rarely in his annotations does Beza pronounce himself on conjectural emendation as such. A notable exception is the annotation on Acts 7:16. In the earliest form of this note, Beza comments on an important problem: Abraham is mentioned by Stephen as the one who bought the tomb in Shechem in which Jacob and other forefathers are buried, whereas in Gen 33:19 Jacob is the one who bought such a parcel (cf. Josh 24:32).[17] Beza's solution is to conjecture that Ἀβραάμ is a secondary addition made by an inexperienced reader. He therefore proposes to omit the reference to 'Abraham' and to consider 'Jacob' as the implicit subject of ὠνήσατο.[18] He then defends his conjecture as follows:

> Similarly, partly through the temerity, partly through the ignorance of some it happened, I think, that in Matt 27:9 the name of Zechariah, in Mark 2:26 of Abiathar the high priest, and perhaps even in Luke 2:2 the name of governor Quirinius was put in the text. Moreover, even Jerome attests in *De optimo generi interpretandi*,

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[17] Beza actually elaborates on Calvin's observation of the problem. Calvin only stipulates that the text be corrected without indicating a textual alternative (Calvin, *Comm. Act.*, OE 12/1, p. 187 ll. 24–27).

[18] Beza is obviously interested in the explanation of the error as he sees it. The textual problem provoked a number of alternative conjectures, for an impression of which see Wettstein, *NTG* a.h.l. and especially Bowyer, *Critical Conjectures*, 1782, pp. 216–217; 1812, p. 355.

to Pammachius,[19] that at Matt 13:35 in many manuscripts Isaiah's name had crept in, for which afterwards Asaph's name was substituted, whereas today neither is read there—which is absolutely right, in my opinion. Equally at Mark 12:42, I have every reason to suspect that ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης has been added entirely from the margin. Below as well, at [Acts] 8:26, it seems to me that αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος is an entirely foreign element, as we will point out there.[20] All these examples or at least most of them have also been noted by some others before me out of the old [commentators]; therefore I thought it well to mention them here, in order to show that this conjecture not only rests on probable grounds, but even does not lack similar examples. At the same time let everyone's judgement be free.[21]

These are programmatic words for the earliest edition. Beza presents a series of conjectures, most of which illustrate his most important technique, the assumption of marginal additions. He appeals to the old commentators, and couples it with the reader's freedom of judgement. In all three aspects, Beza seems to stand rather close to Erasmus here.

As a rule the Greek text and even the Latin translation are not changed, even when they are not correct in Beza's opinion. The annotation on Luke 9:53 (πορευόμενον), even if the conjecture itself is not spectacular, shows this nicely:

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[19] Beza makes an error here. Jerome discusses Matt 13:35 in his *Comm. Matt.* 2.13.33 (CCSL 77, pp. 110–111) and *Tract. Ps.* 77 (CCSL 78, p. 66). In *Epist.* 57 (known as *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* or *Ad Pammachium* (it is one of the letters to Pammachius)—CSEL 54, pp. 503–526), Jerome discusses Matt 27:9–10 (7; pp. 512–514), Mark 2:26 (9; p. 519) and even Acts 7:14–16 (10; pp. 521–522), but not Matt 13:35.

[20] For Beza's conjecture on Acts 8:26, see my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation', pp. 120–121.

[21] "Simili quorundam partim temeritate partim ignorantia factum puto, ut Matt. 27.a.9 nomen Zachariae, Mar. 2.d.26 Abiatharis pontificis, ac fortassis etiam Luc. 2.a.2 Cyrenii praesidis nomen in contextum reponeretur. Quinetiam testatur Hieronymus De optimo genere interpretandi, ad Pammachium, Matth. 13.e.35 in multos codices irrepsisse nomen Esaiae, pro quo deinde substitutum sit nomen Asaph, quum hodie neutrum illic legatur, et optima quidem ratione, ut opinor. Item Marci 12.d.42 magna causa est cur ex margine totum hoc ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης additum esse suspicer, et infra quoque 8.e.26 mihi videtur totum hoc ascititium αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος, ut suo loco dicemus; quae exempla alii nonnulli etiam ex veteribus ante me, si non omnia, certe pleraque annotarunt; et idcirco proferenda putavi hoc loco ut hanc coniecturam ostenderem non modo probabilibus rationibus niti quas ante exposuimus, sed etiam similibus exemplis non carere. Suum interim cuique liberum iudicium esto." In 1565, the remark on Acts 8:26 is dropped, as the conjecture on that verse had been withdrawn; the entire annotation is rewritten in 1582.

> Although I do not dare to improve something in the Greek text
> that does not rely upon manuscripts, I nevertheless think with the
> old Latin translator that πορευομένου should be written.[22]

Beza does not abhor conjectural emendation itself, but he has
taken the (conscious) decision to let it play a role only at the level
of the commentary. As for instance his reading πάντοθεν in John
18:20 shows (see above, p. 273), he did not strictly keep to his
own rule, but the more important question is why he took such a
decision.

It may be recalled that Beza applied emendation *codicum ope*
only sparingly as well. Though he felt free to do so, he rarely
adopts readings from Robert Stephanus' margin or Henri's colla-
tions or from other sources. A thorough revision was not under-
taken, perhaps out of naive trust in Erasmus' editions or lack of
knowledge of its limited base and of Erasmus' editorial activity. If
emendation *codicum ope* is restricted, emendation *ingenii ope* can
only be expected to be limited as well.

Beza's decision may also have been taken in order to forestall
criticism. If opponents could show that Beza had altered the bibli-
cal text, they could accuse him of tampering with it. And so they
actually did.[23] So here we probably have found one reason for
Beza's prudence in text-critical matters, and for his many state-
ments of reluctance towards conjectural emendation. Textual in-
stability was not welcome, for it meant theological vulnerability.
It is not hard to understand that in such a situation, conjectural
emendation is even 'worse' than adopting a different manuscript
reading. In the former critics undeniably change the text of
Scripture and do so intentionally and according to their own
insights.

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[22] "Etsi nihil in Graeco contextu emendare sum ausus contra codicum fidem,
tamen cum vetere Latino interprete existimo scribendum πορευομένου" (not
before 1589). On this conjecture, see my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation',
pp. 117-118.

[23] Most notably Castellio, although mostly with respect to Beza's translation,
and Gregory Martin. There are however hardly any specifically anti-Catholic
conjectures, despite Martin's accusations. One may perhaps state that Beza's
text-critical concerns can only flourish in an environment marked by the doc-
trine of *Sola Scriptura*; as such, it is anti-Catholic.

12.5 CONJECTURAL EMENDATION IN THE LATER EDITIONS

In 1582 the annotation on Acts 7:16 is entirely rewritten. Beza's opinion on the textual problem has not changed:

> ... [Acts 7:16 is] a knot which even Jerome tied in his *Quaestiones in Genesin* and which he promised to untie, but yet never solved. But I long ago already estimated, and still estimate that Jacob's name has to be understood from the preceding verse, instead of which Abraham's name, noted down by someone who saw that the subject of the verb ὠνήσατο was missing and was misled by *une erreur de mémoire*, crept into the text, just as in Matt 27:9 'Zechariah' was written for 'Jeremiah' long ago; and Jerome himself notes in his *Liber de optimo genere interpretandi*, *ad Pammachium*, that at Matt 13:35 in many manuscripts Isaiah's name had crept in, for which afterwards Asaph's name was substituted, whereas today neither is read there.[24]

The textual problem is still there, but Beza now uses Jerome's promise to solve it and his presumed failure to do so to justify his own attempt to solve it. In a more general way, he still invokes

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[24] "... quem nodum nectit quidem Hieronymus in Quaestionibus in Genesin et expediturum se promissit, sed nusquam tamen solvit. Ego vero iam pridem existimavi et adhuc existimo subaudiendum esse ἀπο τοῦ κοινοῦ a praecedente versiculo Iacobi nomen, pro quo nomen Abrahami ab aliquo annotatum, qui deesse rectum ante verbum ὠνήσατο videns ἁμαρτήματι μνημονικῷ deceptus fuerit, in contextum irrepsisse, sicut Matth. 27.9 'Zachariae' pro 'Ieremiae' iam pridem scribitur; et annotat ipse Hieron[ymus] lib. De Opt[imo] gen[ere] interpretandi, ad Pammachium, Matt. 13.35 in multos codices irrepsisse nomen Esaiae, pro quo deinde fuerit nomen Asaphi substitutum, quum neutrum illic hodie legatur." The expression ἀπὸ [τοῦ] κοινοῦ [λαμβάνειν] means, in grammar, that two clauses have a word *in common* (see LSJ s.v. κοινός). The references to Jerome's work in Beza's annotation are somewhat confused. As said above (p. 324 n. 19), in *Epist*. 57 Jerome does not discuss Matt 13:35. Moreover, in *Qu. hebr. Gen.* (CCSL 72, pp. 49–50) Jerome actually provides a solution for the problem in Acts 7:16. He states that Luke simply had to adopt the LXX reading here as the one with which his (non-Jewish) readers were already familiar. This solution is alluded to by Erasmus (in a 1535 addition to his annotation 'Quod emit Abraham precio argenti a filiis Emor filii Sichem'), who writes that Jerome "explains this problem elegantly" ("hunc nodum ... eleganter explicat"—ASD VI–6, p. 230 ll. 240–241; Hovingh remarks (p. 231 n.ll. 229–241) that these words are misplaced and refer to the problem of Acts 7:14, but this is not convincing). Finally, the promise, alluded to by Beza, to solve the textual problem of Acts 7:16 can perhaps be seen in *Epist*. 57, where Jerome expounds on the problem and says that he does not provide its solution in order to make his critics discover for themselves that it is not words but meaning that counts (10.3). As Beza mentions *Qu. hebr. Gen*, it is unlikely that he did not know Jerome's discussion. Perhaps he considered his idea of accommodation to be unsatisfactory.

Jerome's well-known testimony in order to show that he is not alone in assuming such cases of depravation, but the number of examples is limited compared to the earlier form of the annotation. He concludes:

> Such errors in numerals or proper names have not been let in by the fault of the authors themselves, whose mind and pen in transmitting them were most certainly guided by the Holy Spirit, but partly by the negligence and partly by the ignorance of the copyists, or even through the audacity of some sciolists;[25] they can be easily discerned by means of collation with other places; they do not take away anything from either Christian doctrine or the trustworthiness of these accounts.[26]

In this new form the annotation is just as programmatic as it was before, but its general direction has changed considerably. The entire series of conjectures is no longer mentioned and the number of old commentators who used conjectural emendation is reduced to one, Jerome. Even more importantly, the reader's freedom of judgement is no longer appealed to. Instead, Beza now insists on three points: the distinction between the inspired author and the fallible copyists, the relative ease with which such corruptions can be detected and the fact that they are not essential for either doctrine or history. In passing, he subtly reduces the scope of these textual problems to the confusion of numerals and proper names.

The first point shows the principle to which Beza's remarks adhere: obvious contradictions in the Bible should be ascribed to errors in transmission, not to the biblical authors themselves. The reason for this principle is the inspiration of Scripture as Beza sees it. Since both 'mind and pen' are directed by the Holy Spirit, there is no place for a slip of the pen or a failing memory. It is not the certainty of scribal error that salvages the text, but the certainty of inspiration that makes the critic presume such scribal error. From the standpoint of textual criticism, Beza severely

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[25] 'sciolorum': see LS; it is a word used by Jerome.
[26] "Neque vero ista in numerorum notis vel nominibus propriis errata, non ipsorum auctorum culpa, quorum et mentem et calamum in his tradendis Spiritus Sanctus certissime gubernavit, sed descriptorum partim negligentia partim inscitia aut etiam per aliquorum sciolorum audaciam admissa, quae ex aliorum locorum collatione facile agnosci possunt, vel doctrinae christianae vel harum historiarum fidei quidquam derogant."

limits his options on what a biblical author could reasonably have written.

The other two points in Beza's conclusion can be regarded as a kind of 'damage control'. The errors have to be easily discernible, and so they are said to be. They cannot be essential, and so their importance is downplayed. At the very moment when he resorts to conjecture in order to safeguard the authority of the biblical text, Beza has to perform a nearly impossible task, namely to explain the necessity of conjectural emendation and at the same time to show that it is non-essential. Not surprisingly, he fails to do so.

Very similar words can be found in Beza's annotation on Acts 7:14, which was also rewritten for the third edition. As we have shown above, Beza wants to correct the numeral 'seventy-five' into the 'seventy' mentioned in the Hebrew source (Gen 46:27) of this element of Stephen's speech (see above, p. 288). He then concludes:

> ... the observation of this error should offend no one, or call into question the authority of the divine word, for it is corrected out of the Hebrew truth, as we say, and the trustworthiness of both doctrine and the history itself remains intact just as well. And the matter itself calls out loudly that at more than one place, through the damage of time, the severity of the persecutions, the fraud committed by the opponents of the truth,[27] the audacity of the heretics,[28] and finally the ignorance and slumber of the pastors, signs of numbers could be made unstable, and other, more dangerous things, could be brought into the sacred books. Learned and holy men, however, on the basis of both collation with other places and the analogy of faith, have partly noticed and emended these, and partly left them to posterity to observe and correct, while the Lord watches over his Church in such a way that the Church, even if not a few books have perished completely[29] and the errors of which I spoke have crept in, still has the entire doctrine of salvation most

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[27] Cf. Beza's remark on Jesus' genealogy in Luke (see above, p. 296).
[28] Cf. Beza on Luke 2:22 (see above, p. 294).
[29] A thought expressed by Beza in his annotation on Jude 14, and also by Castellio (*Defensio*, p. 227), who points to the books mentioned in Num 21:14, 1 Chr 29:29 and 2 Chr 9:29. Castellio also mentions a 'book of the Just' ('librum Recti') which probably refers to Josh 10:13.

surely and truly expressed by these books, and will have until the end of time.[30]

Here, Beza's statements are even more radical, both in his description of the necessity of emendation and his declaration that the textual problems are not essential to the Christian faith. On the one hand, a typical appeal to the 'res ipsa' ('the matter itself')—the problems of the text can be more important than the weight of its attestation—is accompanied by the enumeration of several causes of corruption. Textual depravation is exclusively imagined as the distortion of the truth into falsehood and of orthodoxy into heresy, to be countered, happily for the Church, by sound methods,[31] valid criteria and learned and pious men. Still, Beza has to allow for serious imperfections in the text. On the other hand, he posits some kind of providential preservation that guarantees that the essential doctrines of faith are not affected by textual corruption.

Some of the later conjectures specifically address issues of textual integrity and of the apostolic character of the New Testament writings.[32] Especially Beza's changed opinion on Hebrews is remarkable: conjectural emendation is brought into play to safeguard its Pauline authorship which may seem to be contradicted in Heb 2:3.

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[30] "Neque vero huius erroris observatio quenquam debet offendere vel in dubium revocare verbi divini auctoritatem, quum et ex Hebraea veritate, ut diximus, emendetur, et salva nihilominus tum doctrinae tum etiam historiae ipsius fides permaneat; et res ipsa [1598: 'ipas' ex err.] clamet non uno loco, temporis iniuria, persecutionum acerbitate, adversariorum veritatis fraude, haereticorum audacia, pastorum denique inscitia et oscitantia, numerorum notas labefactari et alia periculosiora in sacros libros invehi potuisse; quae tamen eruditi et sancti homines tum ex aliorum locorum collatione tum ex fidei analogia partim animadverterunt et emendarunt partim etiam posteris observanda et corrigenda reliquerunt, sic prospiciente suae Ecclesiae Domino, ut quanvis integri non pauci libri interciderint et errata de quibus dixi irrepserint, tamen salutis doctrinam totam his ipsis libris certissime et verissime comprehensam habeat Ecclesia et ad finem usque seculorum sit habitura." There are some additions in 1589 and 1598.

[31] For Beza, the most important method is to correct Scripture by Scripture, notably by appealing to the 'Hebrew truth'.

[32] See Beza's conjectures at Heb 2:3 and John 21:24, discussed above (p. 307).

12.6 The conflict between Scripture and text

A large part of Beza's conjectures are similar to the ones made by Erasmus. They betray concerns for correct grammar, style and the coherence of the text. As far as grammar is concerned, Beza was simply better equipped than Erasmus in both training and access to sources. Some conjectures may be regarded as reflecting a more rigid or thoroughgoing approach to matters of style, but here Beza can still be seen as standing in the tradition of Erasmus. Thus one dimension of Beza's conjectures shows us conjectural emendation in Erasmian style.

There is however a second, non-Erasmian dimension as well, for in many important conjectures Beza goes 'beyond' Erasmus. His approach to Scripture is harmonising. In the end, the motivation behind these conjectures is his concern to safeguard biblical authority. He does not simply stand at the beginning of a tradition in which conjectures are confined to commentary and apparatus. Especially in later editions it becomes ever more clear that his reluctance is not simply based on prudence. Conjectural emendation is described as a crime and profanation of holy Scripture. Ultimately, the fact that many conjectures are proposed in the annotations but immediately neutralised by an appeal to the invulnerability of the transmitted text is the clearest sign of the extremely uncomfortable position in which Beza's high view of the text placed him. This position can perhaps be best described by diagramming the antagonistic relation between two sets of properties the New Testament text has for Beza:
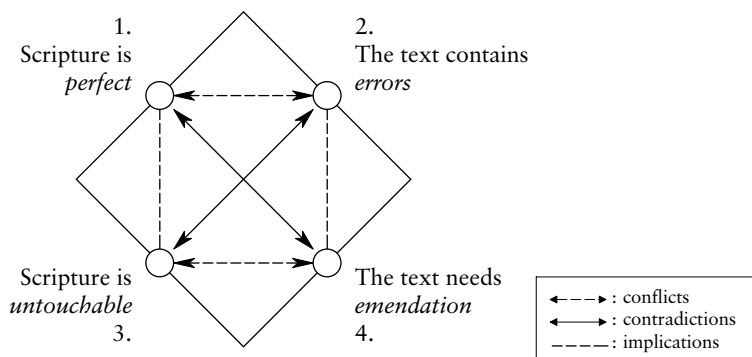
There is thus a conflict between the conviction of Scripture's per-
fection (No. 1 in the diagram) and the observation of blemishes in
its text (No. 2). These two poles are even mutually exclusive: on
the one hand, by definition, perfection excludes every defect,
while on the other the observation of any small mistake may risk
falsifying scriptural perfection. The more intense the insistence on
Scripture's perfection, the more serious even small textual errors
tend to become. By implication, this conflict of belief and 'the
matter itself' leads to a conflict of interests: the assertion of its
perfection forbids that Scripture be touched (No. 3), whereas the
evidence of its errors requires that it be corrected (No. 4).[33] Cor-
rection and invulnerability are even paradoxically related, for in
order to be perfect the text of Scripture stands in need of emen-
dation. Whether this paradox is a matter of irony or tragedy will
depend on the beholder. For Beza in any case, errors in Scripture
were the Achilles heel of biblical criticism. The 1582 revision of
the notes on Acts 7:14 and 16 shows how Beza tried to minimise
the problems that are involved. Beza realised that textual criti-
cism, including conjectural emendation, would have been the
only way to resolve this tension between (perfect) Scripture and
(fallible) text. Unlike Erasmus he attributed a high degree of in-
fallibility to the biblical authors, imputing every obvious error as
he perceived it to the copyists. However, no matter how eagerly
he wished to bridge the gap between the perfect Bible which
existed only as an idea and as an ideal and the real Bible with its
many disturbing imperfections, textual criticism, let alone conjec-
tural emendation, was not an acceptable solution, for it meant the

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[33] When Beza notices the important problems in Luke 2:2, related to the
census and especially to Quirinius, he remarks in passing: "But it is necessary
that the evangelist's authority stand firm" ("Necesse est tamen ut euangelistae
sua constet authoritas"—from 1556 onwards). In the earlier editions, he pro-
poses to leave out the entire verse, but comments: "But this is to split the knot
rather than to untie it. God forbid that I change even a tittle {in these holy
books}, let alone take away something {from them}" ("Sed hoc quidem est
nodum secare potius quam solvere. Absit autem ut vel apicem unum {in his
sacris libris} immutem, nedum quicquam {illis} detraham"—the words in curly
brackets represent additions made in 1582 to the 1556 text). In 1589, the con-
jecture is no longer mentioned. For an impression of the serious nature the
problems posed by Luke 2:2 have for many critics, see Bowyer's discussion in
his *Critical Conjectures* 1782, pp. 80–83; 1812, pp. 188–190.

'profane audacity' of putting human judgement above the divine word.[34]

The decisive difference between Beza's and Erasmus' approach now becomes clear. Whereas for Erasmus, the Greek text of the New Testament is first of all a source, which he treats in essentially the same way as any other classical text, for Beza, it is first of all (holy) Scripture, which has to be treated with the utmost reverence. In Beza we observe the Greek teacher at work, the humanist scholar with a vast knowledge of classical literature, but also the Reformation theologian for whom Scripture is the infallible source of salvation.

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[34] Cf. Beza's closing words on his conjecture on Luke 22:63–65 (1598 only; see above, p. 309 n. 150): "Let it be far away from me to venture something here on the basis of conjecture, *however likely*" ("Absit ... ut hic quidquam audeam ex coniectura *quantumvis probabili*"; emphasis added).

EPILOGUE

The preceding chapters demonstrate the viability of the method adopted in this study. Investigation of Erasmus' and Beza's way of doing New Testament conjectural emendation confirms its basic principle that *judgement of conjectures should be preceded by knowledge of their authors.*

In general, for both critics the Greek text of the New Testament was of secondary concern, as they became involved in its study because of their interest in its Latin rendering. Their work with the Greek text, moreover, was hampered by serious limitations in their way of dealing with manuscript sources. These aspects determine to a high degree the basis on which their conjectures stand. In particular, Erasmus' conjectures cannot be properly understood without taking into account the role of the Vulgate in his work on the New Testament, whereas Beza's conjectures should be seen within his interest of providing the correct translation and understanding of the Bible.

The conjectures themselves, in turn, elucidate important aspects of their authors' involvement with the biblical text. Erasmus' conjectures bestow some new light on his use of the Vulgate and on his way of perceiving the text-critical status of the New Testament. A number of Beza's conjectures betray a conflict between erroneous biblical text and infallible Scripture, which point towards a remarkable aspect of the relation between Humanism and Reformation.

The method used in this study will doubtless be fruitful when applied to other periods of New Testament textual criticism. Conjectural criticism as done by other critics such as Lachmann, Hort, or important representatives of the Dutch School, to name but a few possibilities, deserves similar attention. Only then, within the framework of their text-critical, exegetical and theological positions, will their many conjectures be correctly understood. Furthermore, a selection of important conjectures on the Greek text of the New testament is a *desideratum* of the scholarly community. The groundwork begun in this study is prerequisite if

such is selection is to be meaningful, representative and histori-
cally accurate.

GREEK MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS USED BY ERASMUS

The following table enumerates the most important Greek manuscripts and editions used by Erasmus in one form or another for his editions of the New Testament, as well as the edition for which these manuscripts and editions were used and the use that was made of them.[1]

new no.[2]	date	old no.[3]	name	library and shelf mark
69 (eapr)	XV	69ᵉ 31ᵃ 37ᵖ 14ʳ	Codex Leicestrensis	Leicester, Record Office, Cod. 6 D 32/1
1516, annotations				
2 (e)	XII	2ᵉ		Basle, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel, A. N. IV. 1
1516, printer's copy				
817 (eK)	XV	817ᵉ		Basle, Öffentliche Bibliothek, A. N. III. 15
1516, proofreading and annotations (Theophylact)				
1 (eap)	XII	1ᵉ 1ᵃ 1ᵖ		Basle, Öffentliche Bibliothek, A. N. IV. 2
1516, proofreading and annotations				

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[1] The information presented here is based on Erasmus' own scattered remarks and on a large number of sometimes conflicting secondary sources. Most accurate but still not exhaustive are the accounts in ASD IX–2, p. 131 n.l. 433 and p. 191 n.l. 461; ASD VI–2, pp. 6–7; ASD VI-3, pp. 1-17; ASD VI–5, pp. 7–8; ASD VI–6 p. 4; ASD VI–8, pp. 46–47 n.l. 94. See also Jerry Bentley, *Humanists*, pp. 125–135. According to Erasmus' own words, he consulted four Greek manuscripts "during the first revision" ("in prima recognitione") of the New Testament, that is, in England 1512–1513, and five manuscripts during the second revision, that is, the Basle sojourn in preparation of the first edition (*Novum Instrumentum* 1516, p. bbb 6ᵛ). It can be doubted however whether this information is exact; the context suggests that Erasmus wanted to be known that he had used more manuscripts for his correction of the Vulgate than Valla. In any case, from the Cambridge sojourn, only min. 69 can be identified with some degree of certainty, and in Basle actually more than five manuscripts were used.

[2] New Gregory–Aland numbers are given according to Kurt Aland's *Kurzgefaßte Liste*.

[3] Old Gregory numbers, most of which go back to Wettstein (but not min. 817).

2815 (ap)   XII 2ᵃ 2ᵖ   Codex Amerbachiorum   Basle, Öffentliche
      1516, printer's copy and corrections   Bibliothek, A. N. IV. 4

2816 (ap)   XV 4ᵃ 4ᵖ   Basle, Öffentliche
      1516, corrections   Bibliothek, A. N. IV. 5

2817 (pK)   XI 7ᵖ   Basle, Öffentliche
      1516, printer's copy, corrections and annotations Bibliothek, A. N. III. 11

2105 (pK)   XII –   Oxford, Bodleian Libr.,
      1516, annotations (Theophylact)   Auct. E. 1.6

2814 (r)   XII 1ʳ   Codex Reuchlini   Augsburg, Univ. Bibl.,
      1516, copy made for the typesetters   Cod. I. 1.4.1

3 (eap)   XII 3ᵉ 3ᵃ 3ᵖ Codex Corsendonckensis   Vienna, Österreichische
      1519, corrections and annotations   Nat.bibl., Suppl. gr. 52

–   1518 –   Aldine edition
      1522, annotations

61 (eapr)   XVI 61ᵉ 34ᵃ 40ᵖ 92ʳ Codex Montfortianus   Dublin, Trinity
      1522, 1 John 5:7–8   College, A 4.21

–   1520 –   Complutensian Polyglot
      1527, corrections and annotations

B (03) (eapr) IV B   Codex Vaticanus   Rome, Vatican Library,
      1527 and 1535, annotations   Gr. 1209

MANUSCRIPTS IN STEPHANUS' THIRD EDITION (1550)

The following table enumerates the manuscripts used for the variant readings mentioned in the small apparatus of Stephanus' third edition.[1]

	St new no.[2]	date	old no.[3]	v. Soden	name	library and shelf mark[4]
1	α΄ –	1520	–	–		Complutensian Polyglot
2	β΄ D (05)	V	D^ea	δ 5	Codex Bezae	Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Nn. 2. 41
3	γ΄ 4 (e)	XIII	4^e	ε 371		BR 2867 / BN Gr. 84
4	δ΄ 5 (eap)	XIII	5^e 5^a 5^p	δ 453		BR 2871 / BN Gr. 106
5	ε΄ 6 (eap)	XIII	6^e 6^a 6^p	δ 356		BR 3425 / BN Gr. 112
6	ϛ΄ 7 (e)	XII	7^e	ε 287		BR 2866 / BN Gr. 71
7	ζ΄ 8 (e)	XI	8^e 50^a 8^p	ε 164		BR 2242 / BN Gr. 49
8	η΄ L (019) (e)	VIII	L^e	ε 56	Codex Regius	BR 2861 / BN Gr. 62
9	θ΄ 38 (eap)	XII	38^e 19^a 377^p	δ 355	Codex Coislinianus	BN Coislin Gr. 200
10	ι΄ 2298 (ap)	XII	7^a 9^p	α 171		BR 2870 / BN Gr. 102
11	ια΄ –	?	8^a 10^p	–		(now missing)
12	ιβ΄ 9 (e)	1167	9^e	ε 279	Codex Petri Stellae	BR 2862 / BN Gr. 83

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[1] The information is primarily based on research by Wettstein, Johann Jakob Griesbach and Scrivener. See Wettstein, *NTG* 1, pp. 28–30.43.46–47.49–50.141–143; *NTG* 2, pp. 11–12.452.742; Griesbach, *NTG*, pp. xxi–xxxiv; Scrivener, *Bezae Codex*, pp. ix–x; *Introduction* 2, pp. 189–191.

[2] New Gregory–Aland numbers are given according to Kurt Aland's *Kurzgefaßte Liste*.

[3] Old Gregory numbers, which mostly go back to Wettstein.

[4] Catalogue numbers: BR = Bibliothèque Royale (Paris); BN = Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris).

13	ιγ´ 398 (ap)	X	9^a 11^p	α189	Codex Vatabli
					Cambridge, Kk. 6. 4
14	ιδ´ 120 (e)	XII	120^e	ε 1202	BN Suppl. Gr. 185
15	ιε´ 82 (apr)	X	10^a 12^p 2^r	O^1	BR 2869 / BN Gr. 237
16	ιϛ´ –	?	3^r	–	(missing or unknown)

Numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 15 are from Henri II's library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography is divided into four sections:
1. Classical, patristic and medieval literature
2. Bible editions and translations
3. Erasmus' and Beza's works
4. Other literature

Abbreviations follow Patrick H. Alexander et al., eds. *The SBL Handbook of Style For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*, Peabody, Hendrickson, 1999.

Other abbreviations:

CO	*Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia* (Corpus Reformatorum 29–87), edited by Wilhelm Baum, Eduard Cunitz, and Eduard Reuss, Brunswick, Schwetschke, 1863–1900
KNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
MCT	Modern Critical Text
NAKG	*Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* (*Dutch Review of Church History*)
OE	*Opera Exegetica* (*Ioannis Calvini Opera Omnia*, Series II), Geneva, Droz, 1992–...
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
THR	Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance
ThSt	*Theologische Studiën*
TR	Textus Receptus
WA	Luther Werke (Weimarer Ausgabe)

1. Classical, patristic and medieval literature

Ambrosiaster, *Comm. epist. Paul.* (CSEL 81/1–3).

Augustine, *Civ.* (CCSL 48).

Augustine, *Cons.* (CSEL 43).

Augustine, *Dulc.* (CCSL 44A).

Augustine, *Epist.* (CSEL 34/1–2; 44; 57).

Augustine, *Faust.* (CSEL 25).

Augustine, *Spir. et litt.* (CSEL 60).

Basil, *De bapt.* (PG 31).

the Venerable Bede, *Expositio Actuum apostolorum* (CCSL 121).

the Venerable Bede, *In Epistolas VII Catholicas* (CCSL 121).

Callimachus, *Hymn. Jov.* (LCL 129).

Chrysostom, *Hom. Act.* (PG 60).

Chrysostom, *Hom. Jo.* (PG 59).

Chrysostom, *Hom. Rom.* (PG 60).

Chrysostom, *Hom. 1. Cor.* (PG 61).

Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Thess.* (PG 62).

Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Tim.* (PG 62).

Cyprian, *Ad Quirinium* (*Test.* (CCSL 3)).

Cyprian, *Unit. eccl.* (CCSL 3).

Cyril, *Comm. Jo.* (edited by Philip Edward Pusey, 3 vols., reprint Brussels, Culture et Civilisation, 1965).

Epiphanius, *Anc.* [*Anchoratus*] (GCS 25)

Euripides, *Medea* (LCL 42).

Euripides, *Bacch.* (edited by E.R. Dodds, Oxford, Clarendon, ²1960).

Eusebius, *Dem. ev.* (GCS 23).

Homer, *Il.* (LCL 170–171).

Horace, *Ars poetica* (LCL 194).

Isidore, *Epist.* (PG 78).

Jerome, *Comm. Dan.* (CCSL 75 A).

Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* (CCSL 77).

Jerome, *Epist.* (CSEL 54; 55; 56/1–2).

Jerome, *Nom. hebr.* (CCSL 72).

Jerome, *Qu. hebr. Gen.* (CCSL 72).

Jerome, *Tract. Ps.* 77 (CCSL 78).

Josephus, *Ant.* (LCL).

Justin Martyr, *Dial.* (PTS 47).

Lucian, *Jupp. trag.* (LCL 54).

Nicolaus Lyranus, *Postilla super totam bibliam*, facsimile of the Straatsburg edition, 1492, 4 vols., Frankfurt, Minerva, 1971.

Origen, *Comm. Matt.* (GSC 10).

Origen, *Comm. Rom.* (PG 14).

Origen, *Hom. in Lc.* (GCS 9).

Plato, *Gorgias* (LCL 166).

Plutarch, *Consolatio ad uxorem* (LCL 405).

Plutarch, *Brutus* (LCL 98).

Pseudo-Oecumenius (PG 119).

Quintilian, *Inst.* (LCL).

Scholia in Lucianum (edited by Hugo Rabe, Leipzig, Teubner, 1906).

Terence, *Eunuchus* (LCL 22N).

Terence, *Hecyra* (LCL 23N).

Theodoret, *Int. Paul.* (PG 82).

Theophylact (PG 123–125).

2. Bible editions and translations (other than Erasmus' and Beza's editions)

Stephanus 1550	*Τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης ἅπαντα ...*, Paris, 1550.
Stephanus 1551	*Ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης ...*, Geneva, 1551.
Elzevir 1624	*Novum Testamentum ...*, Leiden, 1624.
Tischendorf Ti[8]	Tischendorf, Constantin von. *Novum Testamentum Graece ...*, editio octava critica maior, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1869–1872.
Westcott–Hort	Hort, Fenton John Anthony and Westcott, Brooke Foss. *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, 2 vols., London, Macmillan 1898 and 1907 (1. *Text*, 1898 (reprint of [1]1881); 2. *Introduction and Appendix*, 1907 (reprint of [2]1896)).
von Soden NT	Soden, Hermann Freiherr von. *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, 2 parts (4 vols.), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [2]1911–1913.
Wettstein NTG	Wettstein, Johann Jacob. *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη. Novum Testamentum Graecum ...*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, Officina Dommeriana, 1750–1751 (reprint Graz, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1962).
N[1]–NA[27]	Nestle, Eberhard (et al.). *Novum Testamentum Graece ...*, [1]1898–[27]1993.
GNT[1–4]	*Greek New Testament* (United Bible Society), [1]1966–[4]1993.

ECM	*Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997–...
Swanson *Acts*	Reuben J. Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts. Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus. The Acts of the Apostles*, Sheffield etc., Sheffield Academy Press etc., 1998.
vgst	*Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* ..., Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, ⁴1994.
vg^{ww}	*Nouum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi* ..., 3 vols., Oxford, Clarendon, 1889–1954.
Vetus Latina	*Vetus Latina. Die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel*, Freiburg, Herder, 1949–...

ASV	American Standard Version, 1901.
GB	Geneva Bible, 1560, 1599.
KJV	King James Version, 1611, 1769.
NAB	New American Bible, 1991.
NASB	New American Standard Bible, 1971, 1995.
NEB	New English Bible, 1961.
NIV	New International Version, 1984.
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible, 1985.
NKJV	New King James Version, 1982.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version, 1989.
Rheims New Testament	1582.
RSV	Revised Standard Version, 1952.
Tyndale	Tyndale's New Testament, 1526.
Whittingham	Whittingham's New Testament (*The Newe Testament* ...), 1557.

Deux-aes bijbel	1587, reprint Utrecht, De Banier, 1978.
Leidse vertaling	1912, 1994.
Lutherse vertaling	1648, 1994.
GNB	Groot Nieuws Bijbel, 1996.
KBS '75	'Willibrord'-vertaling, Katholieke Bijbelstichting, 1975.
KBS '95	'Willibrord'-vertaling, Katholieke Bijbelstichting, 1995.
NBG '51	Vertaling van het Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 1951.
Statenvertaling	1637, 1916.

Berger/Nord   Berger, Klaus and Nord, Christiane. *Das Neue Testament und frühchristliche Schriften*, Frankfurt, Insel, 1999.

Reina–Valera   *La Biblia, …* (translated by Casiodoro de Reina and revised by Cipriano de Valera), 1602, 1909.

3a. Erasmus' works

Adag.   *Adagiorum Chiliades*, ASD II–1—II–8.

Annot. in NT   *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*, LB VI; Reeve 1–3; ASD VI–5 (Matt–Luke; edited by Pieter Frans Hovingh, 2001); ASD VI–6 (John–Acts; edited by Pieter Frans Hovingh, 2003); ASD VI–8 (1 Cor–2 Cor; edited by Maria Laetitia van Poll–van de Lisdonk, 2003); English translation CWE 56 (Romans).

Apolog. ad Fabr.   *Apologia ad Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem,* ASD IX–3
Stap.   (edited by Andrea Wilhelmina Steenbeek, 1996; English translation CWE 83).

Apolog. adv.   *Apologia adversus debacchationes Petri Sutoris*, LB IX, cc.
debacch. Petr. Sutor. 737–812.

Apolog. adv.   *Apologia adversus Monachos quosdam Hispanos*, LB IX,
monach. hisp.   cc. 1015–1094.

Apolog. adv. Stun. *Apologia adversus libellum Stunicae cui titulum fecit Blas-*
Blasph. et imp.   *phemiae et impietates Erasmi*, LB IX, cc. 355–375.

Apolog. c. Iac.   *Apologia contra Iacobi Latomi dialogum de tribus linguis*,
Latomi dialog.   LB IX, cc. 79–106 (English translation CWE 71).

Apolog. c. Sanct. *Apologia contra Sanctium Caranzam*, LB IX, cc. 401–428.
Caranz.

Apolog. resp. Iac. *Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iac. Lopis Stunica taxa-*
Lop. Stun.   *uerat in prima duntaxat Noui Testamenti aeditione*, ASD IX–2 (edited by Henk Jan de Jonge, 1983).

Apolog. resp. inuect. *Apologia qua respondet duabis inuectiuis Eduardi Lei*, ASD
Ed Lei   IX–4, pp. 21–70 (edited by Erika Rummel, 2003).

ASD   *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, Amsterdam etc., Elsevier, 1969–…

Capita   *Capita argumentorum contra morosos quosdam ac indoc-*
tos, LB VI, pp. **3ᵛ–***4ʳ (part of *Novum Testamentum* 1519, pp. 69–82; 1522, pp. B 4ʳ–C 4ᵛ; 1527, pp. B 1ʳ–C 3ʳ; 1535, pp. β 1ʳ–γ 2ʳ).

CWE   *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Toronto etc., University of
                       Toronto Press, 1974–...

CWE 56   Robert D. Sider, ed. *Annotations on Romans*.

EE   P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen and H.W. Garrod, eds. *Opus epis-
                       tolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (11 vols. and index),
                       Oxford, Clarendon, 1906–1958.

Ep.   *The Correspondence of Erasmus* (CWE 1–...).

Epist. apolog. adv. *Epistola apologetica adversus Stunicam*, LB IX, cc.
Stun.   391–400.

LB   Clericus, Joannes, ed. *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera
                       omnia emendatiora et auctiora, ad optimas editiones,
                       praecipue quas ipse Erasmus postremo curavit, summa
                       fide exacta, doctorumque virorum notis illustrata*, 9
                       vols., Leiden, Vander Aa, 1703–1706 (reprint Hildes-
                       heim, Olms, 1962).

Novum   *Novum Instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Rotero-
Instrumentum   damo recognitum et emendatum ...*, Basle, Froben,
                       1516.

Novum   *Novum Testamentum omne, multo quam antehac diligen-
Testamentum 1519   tius ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum, emendatum
                       ac translatum ...*, Basle, Froben, [2]1519.

Novum   *Novum Testamentum omne, tertio iam ac diligentius ab
Testamentum 1522   Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum*, Basle, Froben, [3]1522.

Novum   *Novum Testamentum, ex Erasmi Roterodami recognitione,
Testamentum 1527   iam quartum ...*, Basle, Froben, [4]1527.

Novum   *Novum Testamentum iam quintum accuratissima cura
Testamentum 1535   recognitum a Des. Erasmo Roter. ...*, Basle, H. Froben
                       and H. Episcopius, [5]1535.

Nov. Test.   *Novum Testamentum*, ASD VI–2 (John–Acts; edited by
                       Andrew J. Brown, 2001); ASD VI–3 (Rom–2 Thes;
                       edited by Andrew J. Brown, 2004).

Paraphr. in NT   *Paraphrasis in Novum Testamentum*, ASD VII–6 (Heb–3
                       John; edited by John J. Bateman, 1997).

Reeve, 1–3   Reeve, Anne, ed. *Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testa-
                       ment, Vol. 1. The Gospels*, London, Dickworth, 1986;
                       Vol. 2. Acts—Romans—I and II Corinthians (Studies in
                       the History of Christian Thought 48), Leiden, Brill,
                       1990; *Vol. 3. Galatians to the Apocalypse* (Studies in
                       the History of Christian Thought 52), Leiden, Brill,
                       1993.

Resp. ad annot. Ed.   *Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei*, ASD IX–4, pp.
Lei   73–335 (edited by Erika Rummel, 2003).

Resp. ad collat. iuv. *Responsio ad collationes cuiusdam iuuenis gerontodidaska-*
geront.   *li*, LB IX, cc. 967–1014.

3b. Beza's works

Only abbreviated titles of Beza's folio editions are given. For the full titles, see my 'Beza and Conjectural Emendation', pp. 127–128.

Correspondance   *Correspondance* (THR), edited by Hippolyte Aubert, Fernand
                         Aubert, Henri Meylan, Alain Dufour et al., Genève, Droz,
                         1960–...

NT [1]1556   *Novum D.N. Iesu Christi testamentum* ..., [Geneva], Robert
                         Stephanus.

NT [2]1565   *Iesu Christi D.N. Novum testamentum, sive Novum foedus*
                         ..., Geneva, Henri Stephanus.

NT [3]1582   *Iesu Christi D.N. Novum testamentum, sive Novum foedus*
                         ..., Geneva, Henri Stephanus.

NT [4]1589   *Testamentum Novum, sive Novum Foedus Iesu Christi, D.N.*
                         ..., Geneva, Henri Stephanus (1588 or 1589).

NT [5]1598   *Iesu Christi Domini Nostri Novum Testamentum, sive Novum*
                         foedus ..., Geneva, Vignon.

Opera   *Volumen primum/alterum/tertium Tractionum Theologica-*
                         rum, in quibus pleraque Christianae Religionis dogmata
                         adversus haereses nostris temporibus renovatas solide ex
                         Verbo Dei defenduntur, 3 vols., Geneva, Vignon, 1582.

Responsio   *Responsio ad defensiones & reprehensiones Sebastiani Castel-*
                         lionis, quibus suam Novi Testamenti interpretationem
                         defendere adversus Bezam, et eius versionem vicissim
                         reprehendere conatus est. In hoc libello multi Novi Testa-
                         menti loci accuratissime excutiuntur, quorum indicem
                         adiecimus. [Geneva], Henricus Stephanus, 1563.

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Notes   *the Criticism of the New Testament," Third Edition,*
                chiefly from the Memoranda of the Late Prof. Ezra
                Abbot, D.D., LL.D. with Additions from Profs. Harris
                and Warfield and Dr. C.R. Gregory, edited by Joseph
                Henry Thayer, Boston etc., Houghthon, 1885.

Adams   Adams, Herbert Mayow. *Catalogue of books printed on the*
Catalogue   *continent of Europe, 1501–1600, in Cambridge*
                libraries, 2 vols., Cambridge etc., Cambridge University
                Press, 1967.

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Text   *Testament. An Introduction to the Critical Editions and*
                to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism,
                Grand Rapids/Leiden, Eerdmans/Brill, ²1989; transla-
                tion of *Der Text des Neuen Testaments. Einführung in*
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                Bibelgesellschaft, ²1989.

Kurt Aland   Aland, Kurt. 'Der Schluß und die ursprüngliche Gestalt des
'Schluß'   Römerbriefes', in Kurt Aland, *Neutestamentliche*
                Entwürfe (TB 63), München, Kaiser, 1979, pp.
                284–301.

Kurt Aland   Aland, Kurt et al., *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Hand-*
Kurzgefaßte Liste *schriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1), Berlin, De
                Gruyter, ²1994.

Kurt Aland   Aland, Kurt et al., eds. *Text und Textwert der griechischen*
Text und Textwert *Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF), Berlin,
                De Gruyter, 1987–1999.

Armstrong   Armstrong, Elizabeth. *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer. An*
Robert Estienne *Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus*, Sutton,
                Courtenay, 1986 (revised ed.).

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Teologia   *tra Erasmo ed Edward Lee* (*Studi e testi per la storia*
                religiosa del Cinquecento 4), Florence, Olschki, 1993.

Aune   Aune, David E. *Revelation* (WBC 52), 3 vols., Dallas,
Revelation   Word Books, 1997–1998.

Baarda 'Abba, Vader'	Baarda, Tjitze. 'Abba, Vader', in *Kerk & Theologie* 48 (1997), pp. 3–8.
Baarda ' "Maranatha"— "Maharam Motha" '	Baarda, Tjitze. ' "Maranatha"—"Maharam Motha", 1 Cor. 16:22. Naar aanleiding van een merkwaardige vertaling van Maarten Luther', in Marcel Barnard, Gerben Heitink and Henk Leene, eds. *Letter en Feest. In gesprek met Niek Schuman over Bijbel en Liturgie*, Zoetermeer, Meinema, 2004, pp. 17-33.
Backus *Reformed Roots*	Backus, Irena. *The Reformed Roots of the English New Testament. The Influence of Theodore Beza on the English New Testament*, Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), Pickwick Press, 1980.
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Backus *Apocalyps*	Backus, Irena. *Reformation Readings of the Apocalyps*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.
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Barrett *Acts*	Barrett, Charles Kingsley. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (ICC), 2 vols, Edinburgh, Clark, 1994–1998.
Barthélemy 'Tiqquné sopherim'	Barthélemy, Dominique. 'Les tiqquné sopherim et la critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament', in Dominique Barthélemy, *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 21), Göttingen/Fribourg, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht/Éditions Universitaires Fribourg, 1978, pp. 91–110.
Bataillon *Erasme et l'Espagne*	Bataillon, Marcel. *Érasme et l'Espagne. Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVIe siècle*, Paris, Droz, 1937 (republished Geneva, Droz, 1998).

BDAG   Bauer, Walter, Frederick William Danker, William F.
                   Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *A Greek–English
                   Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Chris-
                   tian Literature*, Chicago and London, University of
                   Chicago Press, [3]2000.

BDR   Blass, Friedrich and Debrunner, Albert. *Grammatik des
                   neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. Bearbeitet von Frie-
                   drich Rehkopf, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,
                   [18]2001.

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First Epistle of Peter   *Text with Introduction and Notes*, Oxford, Basil Black-
                   well, [2]1958.

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Le Quincuplex Psal-   *d'Etaples. Un guide de lecture* (THR 171), Geneva,
terium   Droz, 1979.

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Roussel   Réformes et la Bible* (Bible de tous les temps 5), Paris,
Réformes et Bible   Beauchesne, 1989.

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Erasmus   *Consciousness of a Christian Humanist* (Brill's Studies
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NTG   *ita adornatum ut textus probatarum editionem medul-
                   lam margo variantium lectionum in suas classes distri-
                   butarum locorumque parallelorum delectum, apparatus
                   subiunctus criseos sacrae Millianae praesertim compen-
                   dium, limam, supplementum ac fructum exhibeat, in-
                   serviente Jo. Alberto Bengelio*, Tübingen, Cotta, 1734.

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Nöthige Antwort *was etliche Gelehrten wider das von ihm revidirte, Grie-
                   chische Neue Testament vorgebracht haben*, Ulm,
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Gnomon   *ex nativa verborum vi simplicitas, profunditas, concin-
                   nitas, salubritas sensuum coelestium indicatur*, Stutt-
                   gart, Steinkopf, [8]1891.

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Remarks   *Thinking: in a Letter to F.H.* [Francis Hare] *D.D.* by
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'Correction of   Hebrews Towards the LXX', in *NovTest* 34 (1992),
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                            Parker, Geneva, Droz, 1999.

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                            Droz, 2001.

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Notatio   *Libris Quatuor Euangeliorum, et indicata verborum*
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                            rum intelligentiam certiorem, studio ... Leipzig, Voegel,
                            1572.

Castellio   Castellio, Sebastianus, *Defensio suarum translationum*
Defensio   *Bibliorum, et maxime Novi foederis. In qua, eum in illis*
                            religiose (contra quam a quibusdam traductus est) ver-
                            satum fuisse demonstratur, reprehensa diluuntur, multi
                            difficiles loci enucleantur, et insuper adversariorum
                            errores ostenduntur. Antequam iudices, cognosce. Basle,
                            Oporinus, s.d. [1562].

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Rhenanus   *Textual Criticism. Beatus Rhenanus between Conjecture*
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